RACIAL IDENTITY AND ITS IMPACT ON JOB APPLICANTS

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Drawing from Social Dominance Theory and Prejudice Distribution Theory, the purpose of these three experimental studies was to examine how Whites evaluate racial minorities (African American and Latino) with a strong racial identity. In Study 1, participants evaluated applicants for an athletic director position. Relative to their weakly identified counterparts, applicants believed to possess a strong racial identity were rated as a poorer fit for the job. Results from Study 2, which was also set within the context of hiring an athletic director, show that participant social dominance orientation moderates the relationship between racial identity and subsequent evaluations. Study 3 explored the impact of racial identity on salary and job-related attributes for African American and Latina applicants in the fitness industry as well as gender biases of participants. Study 3 results revealed a relationship between rater gender, applicant race or racial identity and job-related attributes as well as suggested salary. Specifically, strongly identified Latina applicants were rated most negatively by male reviewers in comparison to weakly identified Latina and African American applicants. Interestingly, the inverse was found for female raters. These studies support and extend the current literature as well as highlight the unique way displays of racial identity impact minority applicants in sport and fitness contexts. These findings have both theoretical and practical implications for organizations and minority applicants. The author also discusses limitations and future directions.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my grandparents R.L. Steward, Jr., Maurice La'Blance Mahon Steward, CMSgt. Herman Roberts, and Monetta Lazel Devine. I am, because of you.

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"Oh, give thanks to the Lord, for He is good! For His mercy endures forever." - Psalm 107:1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT ii

DEDICATION iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS v

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION 1

Introduction 1
Organizational Diversity 2
Overview of Diversity in Sport 4
Diversity in Groups 5
Lack of Racial Diversity 7
Conceptual Framework 11
Racial Identity 11
Prejudice Distribution Theory 14
Social Dominance Theory and Social Dominance Orientation 15
Diversity Management Directives 17
Statement of the Problem 19
Purpose Statement 19
Research Questions 20
Overview of Chapters 20

CHAPTER II STUDY 1 22

Introduction 22
Method 25
Participants 25
Procedures 25
Measures 26
Results 27
Manipulation Check 27
Hypothesis Testing 27
Discussion 28

CHAPTER III STUDY 2 30

Introduction 30
Method 34
Participants 34
Procedures 34
Measures 34
Results 35
Manipulation Check 35
Hypothesis Testing 35
Discussion 37

CHAPTER IV STUDY 3 39

Introduction 39
Hiring Directives 41
Racial Differences 44
Rater Gender 45
Summary 46
Method 46
Participants 46
Procedures 47
Measures 49
Results 50
Manipulation Check 50
Hypothesis Testing 50
Interactive Effects 51
Discussion 53

CHAPTER V SUMMARY 58

Summary 58
Contributions 59
Limitations 63
Future Directions 65

REFERENCES 67

APPENDIX A TABLES 97

Table 1. Effects of Applicant Racial Identity, Applicant Gender and Participant Gender on Person-Job Fit Ratings 97
Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations 98
Table 3. Results of Moderated Mediation Analysis 99
Table 4. Results of 2 (Applicant Racial Identity: Low, High) x 2 (Race: African American, Latino) x 2 (Inclusive Practices: Pro-Diversity, Diversity Neutral) x 2 (Rater Gender) MANOVA 100

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics, 3 Way Interaction (Applicant Racial Identity: Low, High) x 2 (Race: African American, Latino) x 2 (Inclusive Practices: Pro-Diversity, Diversity Neutral) x 2 (Rater Gender) MANOVA. 106

APPENDIX B FIGURES 107

Figure 1. Effects of Applicant Identity and Social Dominance Orientation on Attributions 107
Figure 2. Effects of Applicant Identity and Social Dominance Orientation on Person-Job Fit Ratings 108
Figure 3. Effects of Applicant Identity, Race, and Participant Gender (Males), on Job-Related Attributes 109
Figure 4. Effects of Applicant Identity, Race, and Participant Gender (Females), on Job-Related Attributes 110
Figure 5. Effects of Applicant Identity, Race, and Participant Gender (Males), on Salary 111
Figure 6. Effects of Applicant Identity, Race, and Participant Gender (Females), on Salary. 112

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION*

Introduction

The face of America's workforce has changed drastically in the last 100 years. During the early 1900's, the workforce was largely male dominated, with White males holding nearly all high level managerial positions. As the social dynamics began to shift and women were allowed access to higher education, the number of women in the workforce increased dramatically (see Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Patil, 2008). These changes are reflected in the following percentage increase of women represented in the workforce from just 38 percent in 1970 to 47.3 percent in 2005-2010 (Department of Labor, 2015; Stepanczuk, 2007). The Civil Rights movement and increase in the minority population has also greatly changed the racial makeup of the workforce in the United States with (16 percent) Latino; (12 percent) Black; (6 percent) Asian; and (3 percent) unspecified workers (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015; Burns, Barton, & Kerby. 2012).

While women and racial minorities are increasing their representation, they often times face barriers that impact their upward mobility within organizations (Aguirre, 2000; Fassinger, 2008). These barriers may be even more prevalent in sport and fitness

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organizations, as the world of athletics has been referred to as a hyper-reflection of society, particularly in regard to race (Adair, 2011; Atkinson & Wilson, 2002; Sagas, Cunningham, & Teed, 2006; Wheaton, 2007, 2009).

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine these issues further by considering Whites' evaluations of racial minority job applicants. I focus on the roles of perceived applicant racial identity, rater characteristics, and potential differences based on the race of the applicant. in the following sections, I define diversity, discuss the benefits of diversity within organizations, the lack of minorities in managerial positions within sport industry, and barriers minorities seeking to gain entrance to these positions face. I then provide an overview of the conceptual framework guiding the research.

Organizational Diversity

Many Americans view race as a stable and easily identifiable biologically construct. Although physical characteristics are cues to racial categorization, it is crucial to note the societal factors that make these differences meaningful and transitive (Banks & Eberhardt, 1998; Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008; Saperstein, Penner, & Light, 2013). Supporting this point, Hassan (2002) provided a prime example of a societal shift that affected race categorization in reference to the Arab population. Hassan (2002) noted that before the terrorist attacks in the U.S. on 9/11, Arab people were oftentimes classified as White. However, after the attacks, Arabs were viewed as a threat, "othered", and their "whiteness" was seemingly revoked. Conversely, groups that were seen as nonwhite have transitioned to white (e.g. Irish and Italian immigrants in the early 1900s) (Brodkin, 1998; Kolchin, 2002).

The social nature of race is important, as racial category impacts how one is viewed and treated in personal and professional settings (Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2004; Li, Cardenas-Iniguez, Correll, & Cloutier, 2016; Metzl, 2010). This is particularly impactful for those deemed minority or nonwhite members, as they have historically been treated most negatively in the United States.

The effect of racial categorization based discrimination can be seen in the workplace, as racial minorities have experienced lack of entrance, mistreatment, and a marked decrease upward mobility within organizations compared to their white counterparts see (see Carrim, 2016). A unique aspect of this was found by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2002), where name signifiers of race (White: Emily, Black: Lakisha) on applications negatively affected Black applicants. They received 50 percent fewer callbacks than did their White counterparts. Similar results were found by other scholars as well, who have coined the negative impact of race on job applicant "pre-interview bias" (Dipboye, 1982; Marshall, Stamps, & Moore; 1998)

Drawing from psychosocial psychology literature, scholars have focused not only on the differences in treatment but the internal mental processes and external factors that play a role in workplace discrimination. Richeson and Sommers (2016) provide an insightful overview of the research trends in race and racial relation research highlighting differing treatment of those within minority groups as well as majority members. I provide a more in depth overview of one of the theories they discuss, Social Dominance Theory in the preceding chapter.

Authors such as Ford, Gambino, Lee, Mayo, and Ferguson (2004) have provided a framework to decrease pre-interview bias by holding managers more accountable for their decision-making. Yet, gaining a clearer insight to how this pre-interview bias, diversity amongst minorities, and sport workspace may provide fruitful ways to decrease biases and increase access for minorities. The next section will provide an overview of racial diversity and the sport industry.

Overview of Diversity in Sport

Specific to sport management literature, Cunningham (2015) defined diversity as "the presence of social meaningful differences among member of a dyad group." (p. 6). It is important to acknowledge these differences are not only observations but hold some meaning or value that impact the workplace (DiTomaso, Post, and Parks-Yancy, 2007; Singer & Cunningham, 2012). Consequently, whoever holds authority deems which points of diversity are valued (Lucas & Baxter, 2012; Miller & Katz, 2002).

Diversity can be further broken down into two forms: surface and deep-level (Cunningham, 2015; Harrison, Price & Bell, 1998; Jackson, May, & Whitney, 1995). Surface level diversity represents the differences that may be physical and readily observable, such as race, gender age, physical ability, and so on. In contrast, deep-level diversity corresponds to differences that are not readily discerned and require more than just a quick physical assessment to reveal. Examples include culture, beliefs, education, attitudes, and so on. Within the construct of deep-level diversity there are two subgroups, information diversity (differences in knowledge in a specific area) and value

diversity (differences in core values, beliefs or personal attributes) (Cunningham, 2015; Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999).

An application of this classification scheme follows: A Latina woman walks into a job interview for an athletic director position, and based on her appearance the interviewer quickly takes into account her race and gender (surface-level diversity). However, only after reviewing her resume and speaking with her does the interviewer know that she has a Masters in Sport Management, specializing in marketing (information diversity) and is very passionate about her religious beliefs (value diversity). With a deeper understanding of diversity, I now discuss the value diversity brings within an organization.

Diversity in Groups

America prides itself in being the "melting pot" of the world, inviting and uniting individuals from around the globe (Armstrong, 2011). Though the "melting pot" ideology may seem quite welcoming, critical analysis is warranted. A melting plot implies a combining of cultures, yet many "others" who are not part of the typical majority are forced to conform or face negative repercussions (Armstrong, 2011, Miller & Katz, 2009; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004).

Whiteness is seen as ideal or norm in the US. Additionally, the unspoken White rightness that is perpetuated and accepted in America seeks to create "Whitened" or assimilated minorities, rather than a blending. Armstrong (2011) spoke to this point, highlighting the racial interaction was more of a salad bowl or kaleidoscope (different

groups separate and interacting only superficially), rather than a melting pot where there is a cultural exchange.

This ideal is present in the world of sport, as White males have historically held positions of power within organizations (Cunningham & Singer, 2009; DiTomaso, Post, & Parks-Yancy, 2007). Thus, White males are perceived as most competent in these positions and oftentimes hire individuals they believe are most like themselves (fellow White males). This phenomenon is referred to homologous reproduction and leads to male hegemony in the largely male oriented world of sport organizations (Aronson & Mills, 1959; Lovett & Lowry, 1994; Kanter, 1977, Stangl & Kane, 1991). Borland and Bruening (2010) observed as much, as they noted that African American female basketball coaches, though well representation in assistant coach positions, were disproportionately underrepresented in the position of head coach. African American female coaches explained they felt the widely White male dominated role of athletic director, who are in charge of hiring head coaches, and a variety of other factors contributed to the low number of females in the position of head coach. This concept is addressed in subsequent sections.

This noted, there is also evidence that diversity can benefit groups and workplaces. First, diverse workgroups, relative to their more homogeneous counterparts, may produce more creative work outcomes (Cunningham, 2011a; Iles & Hayers, 1997; Kurtzberg, 2005; Richard & Shelor, 2002) and increased problem solving skills (Hennessey & Amabile, 1998; Gruenfeld, Mannix, Williams, & Neale, 1996; Phillips, Northcraft, & Neale, 2006). Due to group level benefits, having a diverse workforce has

positive implications for productivity, innovation, and work outcomes within an organization (Cameron & Caza, 2004; Cunningham, 2009; Fink, Pastore, & Riemer. 2003; Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008). Within the sport context, Cunningham (2009) found that while racial diversity can lead to positive work outcomes, to reap such benefits organization the organization must make a concerted effort to create an inclusive environment. Lee and Cunningham (2015) also showed the value of having a diverse workplace, as job applicants were more attracted to diverse organizations than to homogeneous ones. Thus, it is important to not only have a diverse workforce but incorporate inclusive practices within an organization.

Lack of Racial Diversity

In the world of intercollegiate athletics, racial minorities are overly represented (in proportion to the population) as athletes, especially in revenue generating sports such as basketball and football (Gatmen, 2001; NCAA, 2015; Harper & Williams, 2013). Furthermore, due to Title IX (1972), a federal law which requires education programs receiving federal financial assistance to provide equitable participation opportunities to male and females, female student-athletes are more proportionally represented (Acosta & Carpenter, 2006; DeHass, 2008; NCAA, 2015). However, while represented quite well in regard to participation, both women and racial minorities lack representation in key administrative positions. For example, out of the 30 Conference Commissioners in NCAA D-I (excluding HBCU's), 21 were White males, 8 were White females, and 1 Asian female (Lapchick, Fox, Guiao, & Simpson, 2015). The previous sections defined

diversity and its benefits, and the following sections will explore why there are few minorities within administrative positions.

Access Discrimination. Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990) describe access discrimination as a set of barriers that keep minority group member from being hired by an organization. In the past such barriers may have been explicit, but in most recent history these barriers are much subtler (see Pager & Shepherd, 2008). The social aspect of the hiring process is well known and referred to as the "good old boy network" (Lovett & Lowry, 1994; Mulane & Whisenant, 2007; Quarterman, Dupreé, & Willis, 2006). This unofficial social network consists of individuals, usually White males, that hold positions of authority. Within this network White males tend to associate, mentor, and eventually hire people with whom they most closely identify. This process is also known as "homologous reproduction" and may limit the opportunities for minorities as they are not welcomed into this network (Cunningham & Sagas, 2006; Sagas, Cunningham, & Teed, 2006; Greenhill, Auld, Cuskelly, & Hooper, 2009). Further, as males have historically held roles of power, the masculine traits are more highly valued (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell (1995) defines hegemonic masculinity as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (p.77). Women applicants may face additional barriers in hiring process, as they are not seen as "fit" for certain jobs as their male counterparts. Walker and Sartore-Baldwin (2013) posited that within men's basketball, ideals of masculinity are so valued that an almost "impenetrable" barrier persists for

female applicants. As these issues are well known, several initiatives have been created to decrease access discrimination. For instance, due to the low number of African American head coaches in the National Football League (NFL), in 2002 the organization instated the "Rooney Rule" which requires teams to interview at least one minority when hiring a head coach (Braddock, Smith, & Dawkins, 2012; Solow, Solow, & Walker, 2011). Solow et al. (2011) believed that the Rooney Rule may only be a superficial fix for the problem, and that other programs created to establish more minority coaches at the collegiate level may deem more beneficial to create lasting change. As there are few minorities within key administrative positions within the NCAA and its member institutions, the organization has made a concerted effort to increase diversity and employ diversity initiatives. One the newest programs created by Minority Opportunities Athletic Association (MOAA) and the NCAA is the Division II Governance Academy, the latter of which offers young administrators additional skills and resources (NCAA, 2015). This academy aids in building the network and skills young minorities may not otherwise be exposed to that will help them in moving up within their organization.

Treatment Discrimination. While access discrimination covers the factors that limit minorities from being hired, treatment of minorities within an organization may also play a role in the low number of minorities within sport organizations (Cunningham, Bruening, & Straub, 2006). Greenhaus et al. (1990) described treatment discrimination as "when subgroup members receive fewer rewards, resources, or opportunities on the job that they legitimately deserve on the basis of job related criteria" (p. 77). As minorities are evaluated less favorably than White males, this could impact

their mobility within an organization. Castilla's (2008) study reflected these sentiments, as women and ethnic minorities were not evaluated nor compensated the same as White males with similar evaluations. Further, when minorities do have access to work, they may not be able to advance to managerial, administrative or executive positions at all or at the same rate as their White counterparts (Sartore, 2006). The invisible barrier that keeps minorities and women from progressing to these positons is referred to as the "glass ceiling" (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Kanter, 1977; Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing, & Forrest, 1989; Knoppers, Meyer, Ewing, & Forrest, 1991; Maume, 1999; Stroh, Brett & Reilly, 1996).

Intersectionality. While racial minorities and women are both poorly represented in administrative positions in sport organizations, it is important to explore the combined impact of holding multiple identities (Buzuvis, 2015; Davidson & Proudford, 2008; Moore & Jones, 2001; Lapchick et. al, 2015; Moreci, 2012; Feagin, 2009). Crenshaw (1991) coined the term "intersectionality" to describe the impact of holding multiple subjugated identities or the convergence of multiple identities in a system of oppression. Although Crenshaw's (1991) work focused on African American womanhood and domestic violence, the concept of intersectionality and the negative impact that it elicits has broadened to include a variety of identities (e.g. gender expression, class, ability, sexual orientation) and contexts (Collins, 2000; Crawley, Foley, & Shehan, 2008; hooks, 1990; Watson & Scaton, 2013). Further, while traditionally intersectionality focused on women in the sport context, Anderson and

McCormack (2013) expanded this concept to explore the experiences of African American, male athletes in sport.

Conceptual Framework

Given this background, I now focus on one particular factor that might inhibit racial minorities' access to leadership positions: their perceived racial identity.

Racial Identity

The concept of identity has been the focus of a number of diversity-related inquiries (see Sartore & Cunningham, 2007a; van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). For example, from a social categorization perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), people categorize themselves and others into social groups, using a host of different factors, such as their demographics, attitudes, beliefs, and so on. These characteristics are used to define the self and others in terms of a social identity. As people generally have more positive attitudes toward and prefer to interact with people similar to the self (in-group members) relative to those who are different (out-group members), intergroup bias can result. Illustrative of these dynamics, exercise class participants (Cunningham, 2006) and track-and-field coaches (Cunningham, 2007) who differ from others in their groups are likely to experience less satisfaction with and attachment to those entities.

Of course, people who share a common social identity might differ in their personal identities. According to Brewer (1991), one's personal identity represents "the individuated self—those characteristics that differentiate one individual from others in a social context" (p. 476). This identity represents how people see themselves and is a core

component of their self-concept (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Randel & Jaussi, 2003). As an example, two African Americans might vary in their racial identity: for one African American, her race might represent a core element of how she defines herself as a person, while for another, her race might be secondary to other identities. These identities are important because of their association with subsequent outcomes. For example, personal and social identities interact to predict performance in work groups, such that when people are different from their coworkers based on a key personal identity, their performance is likely to suffer (Randel & Jaussi, 2003). In addition, racial minorities who strongly identify with their race report experiencing more prejudice and discrimination than do their counterparts (Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002; Major, McCoy, Kaiser, & Quinton, 2003).

How do the identities people hold influence associated attitudes and behaviors? A number of scholars have examined this issue, within the context of both sport marketing and intercollegiate athletes. For example, people who strongly identify with a particular sport team are more likely than their counterparts to purchase licensed merchandise (Kwon & Armstrong, 2002), have varied self-esteem responses following the team's success or failure (Trail, Anderson, & Fink, 2005), and attend the team's games and events (Wann & Branscombe, 1993), among other outcomes. With respect to athletes, various identities are associated with academic and athletic experiences (Bimper & Harrison, 2011). Illustrative of this, among African American college athletes, athletic identity is negatively associated with racial identity centrality and perceptions that racial discrimination is still pervasive (Brown, Jackson, Brown, Sellers,

Keiper, & Manuel, 2003). Other inquiries of athletes show that lesbian athletes who strongly identify with their sexual orientation have more self-confidence and are more willing to engage in social activism than are their less strongly identified peers (Fink, Burton, Farrell, & Parker, 2012; Krane, Barber, & McClung, 2002). Collectively, this research demonstrates that the strength of one's identity can have a meaningful influence on subsequent outcomes.

From a different perspective, it is also possible to examine how people perceive others' identities and the consequent reactions. This shifts the focus from the individual's identity and her or his subsequent behaviors to consideration of how others' identities are associated with people's attitudes and behaviors toward them. Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt (2009) considered this possibility across six experimental studies. They observed that Whites respond more negatively to racial minorities believed to hold a strong racial identity than they do toward weakly identified racial minorities. The effects held when both Latinos and African Americans were the target group. Cunningham and Regan's (2012) investigation of athlete endorsers represents the only work identified in the sport setting to consider this possibility. Contrary to Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt, the authors observed that highly identified African Americans were viewed as more trustworthy product endorsers, particularly when they were also involved in socially acceptable forms of activism (e.g. anti-obesity work). Cunningham and Regan suggested the findings might be due to expectations for African American sport stars to be highly identified with their race; absent such identification, questions of authenticity might

arise. In this research project, I draw from prejudice-distribution theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009) to extend this research in several ways.

Prejudice Distribution Theory

Social and personal identities can also interact to predict how people respond to others. This is the crux of Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt's (2009) prejudice-distribution theory. They suggest that not all racial minorities have the same likelihood of experiencing prejudice and discrimination, but instead, it is likely to vary based on the minority's perceived racial identity. When racial minorities express a strong racial identity, Whites might presume they are challenging hierarchy and thus view the minorities negatively. That is, they are thought to reject philosophies that the world is just and fair, ideals related to the Protestant work ethic, and notions of meritocracy. As all of these worldviews privilege Whites, a rejection of them is perceived as an affront to Whites and their legitimacy in the world. On the other hand, Whites do not perceive weakly identified racial minorities as challenging these views, and thus, these racial minorities are believed to see eye-to-eye with Whites.

The differences in the racial identities and the endorsement or rejection of status-legitimizing worldviews then correspond with the prejudice expressed by Whites. That is, Whites are likely to express more prejudice toward racial minorities with strong racial identities than they toward weakly identified racial minorities. Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt demonstrated empirical support for these relationships across six experimental studies using a variety of methodological approaches and with varied targets (e.g. African Americans, Latinos).

In contrast, Burrow and Ong (2010) explored the relationship between African American doctoral students' racial identity and reports of racial discrimination. While they referenced the work of Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt, they attributed the increased number of reports of discrimination by highly identified African American students to their own heightened awareness. Specifically, they were more quick to relate mistreatment to race than weakly identified African American students. There may be an increase in "sensitivity" to adverse experience for individuals who are highly racially identified, Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt (2009) work would speak to the fact that these individuals may actually be treated differently in everyday life because of their racial identity. In sum, racial identity of minorities interacts with the "world view'" of Whites in regard to treatment discrimination.

While each of the subsequent studies is grounded in identity and prejudice-distribution theory, I also examine the role of potential moderators, including social dominance orientation (SDO; Study 2) and diversity directives (Study 3).

Social Dominance Theory and Social Dominance Orientation

The concept of SDO is rooted in the Social Dominance Theory, a sociological theory developed to explain the dissemination of power, resources, and hierarchal group dynamics. Social Dominance Theory purports that society is created of multiple archetypal social hierarchies which impact how resources are divided and which groups are deemed dominant and maintain economic power (see Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). Within the hierarchies there are 3 groups age (young are subordinate to old), gender (females are subordinate to males), and arbitrary-set groups. Arbitrary-set groups

are subjective groupings created by societies and include constructs such as race, class, ethnicity etc. From this theological standpoint, individuals in dominant social groups are afforded "positive social value" while those in the subordinate group are given limited access resources and are left with "negative social values". To maintain power, Further, within these hierarchies the dominant group may use force, sometimes lethal, to maintain their status or position of power (Archer, 2000). As violence is looked down upon, a subtler way to maintain power is through the creation of a belief system that justifies the current power structure by creating myth. Pratto, Sidanius, and Levin (2006) defined this practice as legitimizing myths. The impact of legitimizing myths lends itself specifically in hiring practices and promotion of racial minorities (subordinate arbitrary-set) within an organization, as the bias created by these myths impact how they are reviewed and evaluated by Whites (dominate arbitrary-set) in positions of power (Altemeyer, 1998; Duckitt, 2001; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

On the individual level, some (in the dominant group) are more prone to accept legitimizing myths as facts and support social dominance. Pratto, Sidanius, and Levin (2009) defined this construct as Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and the "extent of individual desires fore group-based dominance and inequality" (pg. 281). Expressions of SDO may be shown through acts of discrimination and a membership in group actions that benefit the dominant group (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2009). While examining minority hiring practices utilizing prejudice-distribution theory, Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt (2009) found that Whites reviewed minorities they perceived to be highly identified to their race more negatively than minorities who loosely identified with their race.

Similarly, Sidanius, Levin, Frederico, and Pratto (2001) posited that Whites high in SDO may view highly racially identified minorities negatively because they see them as most different from themselves and thus more threatening to the current hierarchy. SDO is an important construct in examining hiring practices and racial identity, as it may prove to not only explain why some minorities are evaluated differently than others but the potential differences between evaluators or applicant reviewers that leads to these evaluations (Amiot & Bourhis, 2003; Dambrun, Duarte & Guimond, 2004). Study 2 draws from SDT to explore how those high in SDO may views Black job applicants differently based on their racial identity.

Diversity Management Directives

Telling an organization that they need more diversity is only the beginning, informing them to assess of the current organizational cultural and climate, change practices, and a create guide for future practice is the key. Without the emphasis on embracing differences that diversity brings and creating a positive environment, an organization can fall into "color blind" ideals that are used to discuss issues of race, which seeks to hide differences rather than embrace them (Bonilla-Silva, 2009). A longitudinal study of African American and Latino administrators in municipal bureaucracies found that over time the number of minorities increased in these positions, but the aspect that most impacted the increase was local organizational commitment to diversity (Kerr, Miller, & Reid, 2008). Thus organizations must make a true effort in how they view and manage diversity if they wish to reap the full benefits of a diverse

workforce (Cunningham, 2015; Gotsis & Korteziethical, 2013; Mariovet, 2014; Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008).

Cunningham (2011b) defines diversity management as "proactive, strategic action aimed at capitalization on the benefits diversity can bring to an organization" (p. 7). It is important to highlight that this definition includes the mention of outcomes, as diversity management is not simply about minority representation but focusing on creating practices that elicit positive outcomes. This can be done by creating an inclusive work environment (Cunningham, 2015; Ely & Thomas, 2001; Thomas, 1990). Cunningham (2015, p. 7) states inclusion "represents the degree to which employees are free to express their individuated self and have a sense of workplace connectedness and belonging".

Creating an inclusive environment begins at the "top" of an organization. For employees to "buy in" to inclusivity, inclusive practices must be seen throughout the organization and championed by administrators (Ashikali & Groeneveld, 2015; Miller & Katz, 2002; Pless & Maak, 2004).

Based on the SDO literature that was discussed in previous sections, it is important to note that a strong message regarding inclusion and appreciation for diversity may affect employees differently. In this way, inclusive practices may "trickle down" to impact the hiring process of new employee using directives that highlight the organization commitment to diversity. This would be particularly salient for Whites who are high in SDO. Individuals high in SDO show more prejudice towards highly racial identified minorities their need to respect hierarchy may change how they view

minorities in regard to treatment and access discrimination due to their need to respect hierarchy (inclusive message from administrators) (Duckitt, 2001; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Smith-Crowe, Umphress, Brief, Tenbrunsel, & Chan, 2008). Racial identity literature and prejudice distribution theory suggest that strongly identified minorities may have increased barriers in the workforce. Study 3 draws from the diversity directive literature, exploring if the presence of pro-diversity decreases the amount of prejudice this group faces.

Statement of the Problem

Racial minorities are underrepresented in administrative and managerial position in the sport context. Current sport management literature focuses on the lack of African American, female, and sexual minorities in administrative positions and neglects the growing Latinos. Little is known about how minority job applicant racial identity, evaluator social dominance orientation, and hiring directives may impact this phenomenon. Gleaning a more comprehensive understanding of these factors may help to provide an increase in opportunities for minority applicants and better inform evaluators about the impact of internal biases, creating a more inclusive work environment.

Purpose Statement

By considering different contexts, moderators, and mediators, this research project contributes to the understanding of how racial minorities' (African American and Latino) identities influence others' perceptions of them and their opportunities within the sport context. Through three experimental studies, I (a) examine the influence of

perceived racial identity on hiring recommendations, (b) including gender (Study 1) and social dominance orientation (Study 2) as potential moderating variables, (c) consider the potential mediating role of attributions (Study 2), and the impact of hiring directives that support diversity (Study 3).

Research Questions

Drawing from the discussed literature the following research questions were created to better understand the impact of the perceptions of racial identity on hiring recommendations for African American and Latino administrator job applicants in the sport context, the interaction between applicant racial identity and rater SDO, as well as the affect of "pro-diversity" leadership directives on hiring recommendations of job applicants:

1. How does perceived racial identity of a racial minority job applicant influence ratings of that applicant?
2. Does social dominance orientation influence the relationship between perceived racial identity and ratings of the racial minority job applicant?
3. Do directives for inclusive hiring influence the relationship between perceived racial identity and ratings of the racial minority job applicant?
4. Does the relationship between perceived racial identity and negative ratings differ between African American and Latina job applicants?

Overview of Chapters

This following chapters will include Study 1 (Chapter II - impact of applicant racial identity on hiring recommendations), Study 2 (Chapter III – applicant racial

identity, appraisals of applicant attributions, SDO, and job-fit) Study 3 (Chapter IV – the relationship between applicant race, racial identity, pro-diversity directives, participant gender, and salary). Chapter V will include an overview of the studies, limitations, implications for future research, and practical application of the findings.

CHAPTER II

STUDY 1*

Utilizing the prejudice-distribution theory literature, this study explored the impact of applicant racial identity on person-job fit for administrative positions within athletic departments. Study participants reviewed African American female and male job application materials with differing expressions of racial identity, expressed through their affiliations and club memberships. Results revealed that minority job applicants who expressed low levels of racial identity were evaluated more "fit" compared to those who were highly identified to their race.

Introduction

In the first study, I draw from prejudice-distribution theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009) to examine attitudes toward potential job applicants. As outlined in greater detail in the Method section, participants reviewed a job application for an open athletic director position at a public university in the Southwest. All resumes contained a photo of an African American applicant, work history, educational achievements, and affiliations. I varied the gender of the job applicant as well as information in the affiliation section, the latter of which was done to signal the applicant's racial identity.

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Racial minorities who strongly identify with their race routinely report facing prejudice and discrimination (Major et al., 2002). Prejudice-distribution theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009) offers a rationale for why this might occur, as a strong racial identity among racial minorities might also signal a rejection of status-legitimizing norms. Similar dynamics are likely to occur in the context of university athletics, a context with a history of racism and racial discrimination against players, coaches, and administrators (Singer, 2008). I expected highly identified racial minority job applicants would be viewed less positively (i.e., have poorer person-job fit) than their more-weakly identified counterparts. More formally, I hypothesized:

Hypothesis 1: Weakly identified racial minority job applicants will have higher person-job fit ratings than will strongly identified racial minority job applicants.

I also expected applicant gender to interact with racial identity. Previous work in the area of prejudice-distribution has only included men as targets of evaluation (Cunningham & Regan, 2012; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), leaving a gap in the understanding of how gender influences these dynamics. Some hold the notion that in general evaluations of people (e.g., Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), highly identified men are viewed as more threatening than are women, and thus, will be rated more harshly (see also Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Others adopt a different perspective, though, suggesting racial minority women are likely to experience the most subjugation (Bruening, 2005; hooks, 1981; Ladson-Billings, 2009).

Cortina's (2008) selective incivility theory helps inform these potential differences. She suggested that given the decline in the expression of explicit forms of

discrimination, employees are likely to experience differential treatment in subtle, nuanced ways. This is most likely manifested through acts of incivility, which represents a low-intensity for of conduct that is rude and discourteous but nevertheless harmful. In drawing from the principals of intersectionality, Cortina further suggested that women, racial minorities, and in particular, women of color were most likely to experience incivility in the workplace. Subsequent research from Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huera, and Magley (2013) confirms these theoretical tenets, as they observed African American women were more likely than their peers to experience incivility, and incivility's relationship with turnover intentions was strongest for this group, too.

Selective incivility theory (Cortina, 2008) suggests women of color are most likely to experience prejudice and discrimination at work. There is also evidence from the sport industry supporting this position. As Cunningham (2011b) notes, "the effects of gender and race are not merely additive: they are qualitative, in that women of color are likely to have experiences that differ from those of men of color or White women" (p. 120). To this point, data from the National Collegiate Athletic Association (DeHass, 2007) show that women of color are underrepresented in all key administrative positions, even beyond what would be expected based on their proportion in the US population. As a result, women of color working in leadership roles are likely to be "solos," or individuals who are the lone (or one of a few) representatives of a particular group (McDowell & Cunningham, 2009). Because they are in this vulnerable position, racial minority women leaders are likely to encounter heightened scrutiny, be stigmatized as

incompetent, and have expectations of prototypical behaviors (Abney, 1988; see also Burton, 2015; Kanter, 1977). Given these effects, I predicted:

Hypothesis 2: Gender will moderate the effects of racial identity on person-job fit, such that racial minority women will receive the lowest ratings.

Method

Participants

I collected data from 101 White undergraduate students enrolled in physical activity classes at a large, public university in the Southwest United States. The restriction of the sample to White students is consistent with past research examining prejudice toward racial minorities (e.g., Cunningham & Regan, 2012; Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). The sample included 42 women (41.6%) and 59 men (58.4%), with a mean age of 20.05 years (SD = 1.31).

Procedures

After agreeing to voluntarily participate in the study, participants took part in a 2 (applicant racial identity: low, high) × 2 (applicant gender: woman, man) experiment. They received a study packet containing a letter explaining the general purpose of the study (i.e., "to understand the factors that influence the hiring practices in Division I athletic departments") and the experimental materials. I randomly distributed the materials so that each participant received one of the four packets.

Participants first read that an athletic department at a large, public university was hiring a new athletic director. They were then asked to read the dossier "as if you were on the university's hiring committee." The dossier contained a picture of the applicant

(all of whom were African American), a personal statement, work history, educational attainment, and affiliations. I manipulated racial identity by altering the affiliations information. For highly identified applicants, the packet read: "Black Coaches Association (on board of trustees from 2001-2005), Black Coaches and Administrators Association, a member of the NCAA Division I management council, National Honor Society, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity (for the men; Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority for the women), 2008 chair for local Obama campaign." Among the weakly identified applicants, the affiliations information read: "National Honor Society, Intercollegiate Athletics Coaches Association (on board of trustees from 2001-2005), a member of the NCAA Division I management council, 2008 chair for local McCain campaign." Finally, I manipulated applicant gender through the photograph. After reviewing the dossier, participants completed a post-experiment questionnaire.

Measures

The post-experiment questionnaire contained items to measure the effectiveness of the manipulation, person-job fit, and participant demographics. The manipulation check was embedded among several items designed to evaluate the applicant. The specific item read: "Based on the resume, I believe the applicant is strongly identified with their race," and responses were made on a 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Filler items were included so as not to alert participants to the purpose of the study. They included questions about the degree to which the applicant was extraverted, agreeable, skilled, and honest. I included three items from Sartore and Cunningham (2007b) to measure person-job fit. A sample item is "This person seems to

have the characteristics necessary for the job," and responses were made on a 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The alpha was acceptable (α = .84), and I took the item mean for the final score.

Results

Manipulation Check

The experimental manipulation was successful. Persons in the highly identified conditions perceived the applicant to have a higher racial identity (M = 6.27, SD = 1.09) than did persons in the weakly identified condition (M = 4.12, SD = 1.35), F (1, 97) = 75.24, p < .001.

Hypothesis Testing

I tested my hypotheses by way of a 2 (racial identity: low, high) × 2 (applicant gender: women, man) × 2 (participant gender: women, man) analysis of variance, with person-job fit serving as the dependent variable. While I did not hypothesize specific effects for participant gender, it is possible that people would have a preference for person similar in gender to them (Tsui & Gutek, 1999). Thus, I included participant gender as a between-subjects' variable. Results are presented in Table 1.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that weakly identified applicants would receive higher person-job fit ratings than would highly identified applicants. This hypothesis was supported, F (1, 93) = 6.36, p = .01, d = .53. Racial minorities who did not express a high racial identity were rated higher (M = 5.88, SD = .93) than their peers (M = 5.31, SD = 1.22), and the effect was moderate based on Cohen's (1988) guidelines.

Hypothesis 2, which predicted that gender would moderate the relationship between racial identity and person-job fit, was not supported: $F(1, 93) = .10$, $p = .75$. Participants rated weakly identified women ($M = 5.98$, $SD = .87$) and men ($M = 5.79$, $SD = 1.00$) higher than their more strongly identified counterparts ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.34$, and $M = 5.42$, $SD = 1.12$, respectively).

Finally, while participant gender did have a main effect, $F(1, 93) = 3.88$, $p = .05$ (women offered higher ratings than did men), there were no interactive effects with applicant racial identity, applicant gender, or the combination thereof.

Discussion

The purpose of Study 1 was to examine how perceived racial identity influenced Whites' ratings of racial minority job applicants. Results of the manipulation check indicate that participants did take notice of the cues in the dossier: participants believed that racial minority applicants who were active in African American-specific activities were strongly identified with their race. These cues were important, as Whites rated highly identified applicants as being a poorer fit for the job than their weakly identified counterparts. Further, I observed racial identity effects consistently among both women and men applicants.

The results are consistent with prejudice-distribution theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009) and suggest that Whites penalize racial minorities who strongly identify with their race. They are likely to do so because of the belief that highly identified racial minorities challenge the status quo and social structures privileging some (re: Whites) over others. In line with this reasoning, within the athletics setting, Whites are privileged

and over-represented, relative to their proportion in the US population, in coaching and leadership positions (for an overview, see Cunningham, 2011b). Further, racial stereotypes cast African Americans as suitable for diversity related job but as lacking the knowledge and skills necessary for high level positions (Cunningham & Bopp, 2010) attributions likely to be more highly activated when racial identity is high. All of these factors potentially contribute to the negative evaluations of strongly identified racial minority candidates.

Interestingly, I did not observe moderating effects by applicant gender, as female and male applicants received similar evaluations, depending upon their perceived racial identity. It is possible that, at least within the context of rating job applicants, racial identity is more salient in the minds of the raters than is the applicant's gender.

CHAPTER III

STUDY 2*

Study 1 sought to reveal the impact of applicant racial identity on hiring recommendation. Study 2 delves deeper in exploring the factors that may impact job attributions of racial minorities, analyzing the relationship between participant/reviewer SDO, appraisals of attributions, and applicant racial identity. Results revealed that social dominance orientation moderated the relationship between identity and attributions, as well as identity and person-job fit.

Introduction

In Study 2, I sought to extend on the findings in Study 1 in several ways. First, I include a potential intervening variable—attributions of the applicant. From an attribution theory perspective (Weiner, 1995), people look for explanations and connections when seeking to understand different phenomena. They use these attributions to explain why certain activities occur or to justify different behaviors. For example, people frequently attribute obesity to laziness or lack of self-control on the part of the target (Paul & Townsend, 1995), and as these are negative characteristics, obese people are considered in a more negative light than are their thinner counterparts.

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Attribution theory might also better help explain the relationship between high racial identity and poor person-job fit ratings. Specifically, prevailing racial stereotypes and attributions might be triggered when evaluating highly identified racial minority applicants. People are unlikely to consider African American employees as qualified for leadership positions, especially when compared to Whites (Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). African Americans working in sport are also more likely to be praised for their diversity-related abilities than they are for their work experiences or their content-specific knowledge (Cunningham & Bopp, 2010). Thus, stereotypes and attributions of African American employees are likely to be poor—dynamics that are likely to only be heightened when the applicant's racial identity is high (Cokley, Dreher, & Stockdale, 2004). Further, as Sartore and Cunningham (2007b) have demonstrated, applicant attributions are closely associated with perceptions of how well that person will fit with the job. As such, I hypothesized:

Hypothesis 1: Weakly identified racial minority job applicants will have higher attributions ratings than will strongly identified racial minority job applicants.

Hypothesis 2: Attributions will be positively associated with person-job fit ratings.

I also examined a potential moderator: social dominance orientation. Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) social dominance theory suggests that group-based hierarchies emerge in different societies, with people in dominant groups maintaining a disproportionate share of power and privilege over other people. A key element of this theory is the psychological construct social dominance orientation, or "the degree to

which individuals desire and support group-based hierarchies and the domination of 'inferior' groups by 'superior' groups" (p. 48). People with high levels of social dominance orientation support hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths that serve to promulgate status-based hierarchies. This psychological construct informs people's views toward diversity-related issues as well, as it is related to support for social inequalities (Danso, Sedlovskaya, & Suanda, 2007), attraction to inclusive workplaces (Melton & Cunningham, 2012), and prejudice against lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals (Whitley, & Egisdottir, 2000), religious minorities (Guimond, Crisp, De Oliveira, Maiejski, Kteilym Kuepper...& Zick, 2013), and racial minorities (Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011). These effects are observed across countries (Guimond et al., 2013; Pratto, Liu, Levin, Sidanius, Shih, Bacharach, & Hegarty, 2000), and there is some evidence that they are causal in nature (Kteily et al., 2011).

Social dominance likely moderates the relationship between perceived applicant racial identity and subsequent applicant ratings. From a prejudice-distribution theory perspective (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), highly identified racial minorities are believed to reject the racial status quo and current cultural arrangements that privilege Whites. Racial minorities believed to adopt this perspective would be viewed negatively among people with a high social dominance orientation. Indeed, Kaiser and Pratt-Hyatt observed that people who endorsed status-legitimizing worldviews (which is conceptually similar to social dominance orientation) were likely to rate strongly identified racial minorities more harshly than their weakly identified counterparts. Given this possibility, and the aforementioned hypothesis related to attribution, I hypothesized:

Hypothesis 3: Social dominance orientation will moderate the relationship between racial identity and job attributions.

Thus far, I have predicted that weakly identified racial minorities will receive more positive attributions ratings than will their strongly identified counterparts (H1) and that attributions will be positively associated with person-job fit ratings (H2). This pattern is suggestive of *simple mediation*. In addition, I proposed social dominance orientation is likely to moderate the relationship between racial identity and attributions (H3). Combined these predictions suggest *moderated mediation* is possible. As Edwards and Lambert (2007) explain, moderated mediation occurs when "an interaction between an independent and moderator variable affects a mediator variable that in turn affects an outcome variable" (p. 7). Related to this is what Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007) refer to as conditional indirect effects, whereby the indirect effects of the mediating variable are conditional or dependent upon the strength of the moderating variable. These possibilities are present in the current study, as the relationship between attribution ratings and person-job fit evaluations might vary based on rater social dominance orientation. Consistent with this line of reasoning, I predicted:

Hypothesis 4: The indirect effects of racial identity on person-job fit, via attributions, will be moderated by social dominance orientation, such that the strength of mediation is stronger for people with high social dominance than for their counterparts.

Method

Participants

I collected data from 110 White students enrolled in physical activity classes at a large, public university in the Southwest United States. The sample consisted of 49 women (45.5%) and 61 men (55.5%). The mean age was 20.55 years (SD = 1.32), and all voluntarily consented to participate in the study.

Procedures

The procedures were nearly identical to those in Study 1, as I ran a 2 (applicant racial identity: low, high) × 2 (applicant gender: woman, man) experiment in which participants were told they were participating in a study to better understand the hiring practices in college athletics. The one difference was the post-experiment questionnaire, which I outline in the following section.

Measures

Participants completed a post-experiment questionnaire in which they provided their demographic information (age, gender, and race) and responded to items designed to measure the efficacy of the manipulation, participant social dominance orientation, the attributions of the job applicant, and the applicant's person-job fit. The manipulation check and person-job fit items ($\alpha = .87$) were the same as those used in Study 1. As with Study 1, I embedded the manipulation check among several items designed to evaluate the applicant. This was done so as not to alert participants to the purpose of the study.

I used an abbreviated, 9-item version of Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) original scale. Others have also effectively used an abbreviated version of the scale (e.g., Louis,

Duck, Terry, Schuller, & LaLonde, 2007). Sample items include “Inferior groups should stay in their place” and “I think no one group should dominate society” (reverse scored). The items were anchored by a 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The scale had acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .84$), and I used the item mean for the final score.

Finally, I measured attributions with four items preceded by the phrase: “In general, I would rate the applicant being considered for the athletic director position as….” I then used semantic differential word pairs: “undependable – dependable,” “not an expert – expert,” “unskilled – skilled,” and “dishonest – honest.” Sartore and Cunningham (2007b) used a similar approach. The reliability was high ($\alpha = .90$), and I used the item mean for the final score.

Results

Manipulation Check

Results indicate the experimental manipulation was successful, $F(1, 108) = 65.66$, $p < .001$. Participants in the high identity conditions perceived the job applicants were more highly identified with their race ($M = 5.97$, $SD = 1.05$) than did persons low identity conditions ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.44$).

Hypothesis Testing

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations are presented in Table 2. As I hypothesized mediating and moderating effects, I analyzed the data through moderated mediation using the macros developed by Preacher et al. (2007). Given that applicant gender did not serve as a moderator in Study 1, I did not include it as an

independent variable in this study. I did, however, want to statistically control for gender's possible influence, so included both applicant gender and participant gender as controls in this analysis. Finally, given the difficulty in detecting moderating variables through regression analysis (McClelleand & Judd, 1993), I increased the alpha level to .10 for the tests of moderation, a technique prescribed by statisticians (Aguinis, 1995) and followed by other scholars (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998).

I present the results in Table 3. Hypotheses 1 and 3 predicted that highly identified job applicants would be rated poorer than their less identified peers. These hypotheses were not supported for either person-job fit ratings (B = -.14, SE = .16, p = .36) or attributions ratings (B = -.16, SE = .24, p = .51). Thus, both hypotheses were rejected.

My next hypothesis, that attributions would hold a positive association with person-job fit (H4), was supported. As seen in Table 3, the relationship between attributions and person-job fit ratings were significant and positive (B = .23, SE = .06, p < .001).

With the fifth hypothesis, I predicted that social dominance orientation would moderate the relationship between identity and attributions. As seen in Table 3, social dominance orientation was negatively associated with attributions (B = -.51, SE = .17, p = .003), and it also served to moderate the relationship between identity and attributions (B = .43, SE = .24, p = .08), supporting Hypothesis 5. Interestingly, social dominance orientation also moderated the relationship between identity and person-job fit ratings (B = -.31, SE = .16, p = .06), a finding I did not hypothesize. I follow Cohen, Cohen, West,

and Akin's (2003) guidelines for plotting the nature of these interactions. For attributions, participants with a low social dominance orientation had higher attributions ratings for weakly identified applicants than did their high social dominance orientation counterparts; however, there were no differences for ratings of highly identified individuals (see Figure 1). A slightly different pattern emerged for person-job fit. In this case, there were no differences in the ratings of weakly-identified candidates. For ratings of candidates with a strong racial identity, people with a low social dominance orientation offered more positive ratings than did persons with low social dominance orientation (see Figure 2).

Finally, I predicted that mediated moderation, such that the mediating effects of attributions would be conditional upon participant social dominance orientation (H6). As seen in Table 3, this hypothesis was not supported for any level (mean, low, or high) of social dominance orientation. Thus, Hypothesis 6 was rejected.

Discussion

The purpose of Study 2 was to expand on the first investigation by exploring two additional factors that could influence the effects of one's racial identity on subsequent personnel decisions: attributions made toward the applicant and rater social dominance orientation. As with Study 1, I again found that participants made assumptions of the applicant's racial identity based on the material presented in her or his dossier (per the manipulation check). Furthermore, perceptions of one's racial identity interacted with participant social dominance orientation to predict both attributions and person-job fit. Where differences occurred in the ratings, persons with a low social dominance

orientation offered more positive evaluations than did their high social dominance orientation counterparts. These findings are consistent with and complement previous investigations, such that high social dominance orientation is associated with less positive views racial minorities and diversity-related topics (Danso et al., 2007; Kteily et al., 2011; Melton & Cunningham, 2012).

Applicant racial identity and participant social dominance orientation interacted to predict attributions, and in line with previous research related to personnel evaluations in sport organizations (Sartore & Cunningham, 2007b), this construct was positively associated with person-job fit ratings. However, contrary to my expectations, the conditional indirect effects of attributions on person-job fit were not significant; thus, the effects of attributions on person-job fit do not appear to be dependent upon the social dominance orientation of the rater.

CHAPTER IV

STUDY 3

Building on the findings of Study 1 (African American applicant racial identity impacts evaluations of person-job fit) and Study 2 (SDO moderated the relationship between applicant racial identity and both person-job fit and attributions), in Study 3, I examined the potential interaction between applicant racial identity and pro-diversity directives in appraisals of work attributions and salary recommendations. I also examined potential differences in ratings based on the race of the applicant: Latina or African American, as well as how participant gender impacts applicant appraisals.

Introduction

Drawing from prejudice-distribution theory, in Study 1, I found that Whites rated weakly identified African American applicants more positively than they rated those who highly identified with their race. I built on these findings in Study 2, examining how rater SDO influenced evaluations of African American applicant job-related attributes and person-job fit for an administrative role in an athletic department. In both studies, I examined attitudes towards Black applicants. However, it is yet unknown how these expressions of racial identity influence other low status racial group members in the workforce (Umphress, Simmons, Boswell, & Triana, 2008). With the growing Latino population in the United States, gaining a better understanding of the factors that effect this population may fill a gap in the literature.

In this study, I addressed this void by researching female Latina and African American applicants, considering the potentially moderating role of inclusive hiring directives. Further, as sport management is not exclusive to intercollegiate sport, I examined the impact of the previously stated factors in a different setting, the fitness industry (see also Brown, 2014). The fitness industry has grown into a $21billion a year commerce (Rampell, 2012), yet there is little understanding of the diversity-related hiring practices in this segment.

In Study 1 and Study 2, I found that the racial identity of African American job applicants influenced how Whites evaluated them for job-related attributions and job-fit. Specifically, weakly identified African American applicants for an athletic director position scored higher in attributions and job fit than their strongly identified counterparts. Consistent with Prejudice Distribution Theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), these findings exposed the within group treatment differentials for a single low status group. However, I was unable to identify similar examinations focusing on Latinas in the sport context. As Whites rated weakly identified African American applicants more favorably compared to their strongly identified, I expected this phenomenon would be present for other minority populations, including Latinas. Thus, I hypothesized:

> **Hypothesis 1a**: Whites will rate African American and Latina job applicants they perceived as weakly identified with their race more favorably than they will rate applicants they perceived as strongly identified with their race.

Similarly, higher appraisals may also influence tangible outcomes, such as salary offers. That is, if Whites favorably perceive strongly identified racial minorities, relative to their peers, these applicants are also likely to face other forms of discrimination, such as differences in pay. This reasoning is consistent with Studies 1 and 2, as strongly identified African Americans received less favorable job ratings (person-organization fit and hiring recommendations) than their peers.

This rationale is consistent with work related to racial discrimination related to pay. For example, in a recent study, Rider, Wade, Swaminathan, and Schwab (2016) investigated the underlying reasons that contributed to the lack of minorities in high level coaching positions in the NFL. They found the incremental differences in pay at the start of the career compared to White head coaches and slower rate of promotion had a substantial impact on the 20-year earning of Black head coaches in the NFL, totaling to nearly $23 million difference in net pay. Simply put, the little things matter and add up over time. Drawing from these findings and prejudice-distribution theory, I hypothesized:

> **Hypothesis 1b:** Whites will award weakly identified Black and Latino applicants with higher starting salary than they will award strongly identified Black and Latino applicants.

Hiring Directives

Organizational culture can have a direct impact on the behavior of employees within organizations (see Cullen, Parboteeah, & Victor, 2003; Pack, 2005). The effect of an inclusive practices, combined with support and follow-through from organizational

leaders, leads to positive work outcomes as well as a "safe" and productive work climate (Ashikali & Groeneveld, 2015; Brown & Trevino, 2006; Miller & Katz, 2009; Pless & Maak, 2004). Due to the power of administrator views in affecting change within an organization, researchers have focused on how different expressions from administrators may affect hiring practices (see Cunningham, 2009; Singer & Cunningham, 2012; Umphress, Simmons, Boswell, & Trianna, 2008).

SDT (see Pratto, Sidanius & Levin, 2006) illuminates the hierarchal structures that govern how resources are delineated and who maintains power. Directives, or specific guidelines provided to employees who espouse the beliefs or values of an organization, are a way in which organizational authorities may demonstrate "buy in" to a belief system in organizational hierarchy (Cunningham, 2015). Drawing from SDT, Umphress, Simmons, Boswell, and Trianna (2008) focused on the relationship between evaluator SDO, job qualification focused directives and intent to hire for low status/minority group members (White females, African American males). Similar to results in Study 2, they found that participants high in SDO evaluated the applicants more negatively than those low in SDO. However, the presence of outcome-based directives ("choose the best possible performers") from an authority decreased the negative relationship between SDO and intent to hire.

While Umphress et al.'s research suggests the presence of outcome-based directives mitigated the negative appraisals of applicants from those high in SDO, understanding the impact of alternative directives on a broader population may also be fruitful. Similarly, the framing literature (see Holladay, Knight, Paige, & Quiñones,

2003; Trawalter, Driskell, & Davidson, 2015) suggest that organizational members respond more favorably to framing diversity initiatives that are marketed as broadly beneficial to all groups than to those considered exclusionary. In a recent study, Dover, Major, and Kaiser (2016) found that members of high-status groups, Whites, feel threatened when organizations have pro-diversity messaging. In their study, Whites performed more poorly in interviews with organizations with pro-diversity messaging as a marked increase in the cardiovascular threat response. These findings may lead organizations to decrease the prevalence of pro-diversity messaging.

In contrast, in the currently study, I seek to highlight the benefits of pro-diversity messaging for minorities concerning hiring recommendations and initial salary. Pro-diversity messaging may show to have positively impact on the treatment of minorities in the hiring and compensation practices of minorities within organizations. With respect to hiring practices, an organization may show a proactive commitment to diversity by including directives that state pro-diversity language and mission for those evaluating job applicants. In this way, a pro-diversity hiring directive is a frame for proactive hiring practices.

In Study 3, I seek to expand upon the literature to explore how diversity directives may affect hiring outcomes. Thus, I focus on pro-diversity directives' (e.g. "The diversity of our staff is among the most important assets of our company") impact hiring attributions and salary offers for female minority applicants. I hypothesized:

Hypothesis 2: Organizations with pro-diversity hiring directives will elicit more positive evaluations (H2a) and higher salary (H2b) for minority female applicants than organizations with diversity-neutral directives.

Racial Differences

Although both African Americans and Latinos are considered low status groups, members within these groups may not be viewed or treated in the same way. Zamudio and Lichter (2008) sought to understand how Latino and African American workers were viewed in the service industry. Their study revealed that those in positions of authority preferred Latino workers to African American workers, citing that Latino workers had superior "soft skills" in comparison to their African Americans. Moss and Tilly (1996) define soft skills "as skills, abilities, and traits that pertain to personality, attitude, and behavior rather than formal or technical knowledge" (p. 253). In similar studies, soft skills were only presumed (e.g., Latinos are more hardworking, African American employees may be more hostile or less compliant) by the employer and not actual attributes of a worker (Moss & Tilly, 1996; Pager, Western, & Bonikowski, 2009; Zamudio & Lichter, 2008). Zamudio and Lichter (2008) also noted that the emphasis on soft skills hid an underlining preference for Latino workers, as they were seen as more compliant and less likely to question the mistreatment than African American employees. In this way, soft skills are job-related attributions afforded to different minority group members (Becker, 1957; Capelli & Iannozzi, 1995; Greenhaus et al, 1990). Hence, I hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3: Whites will respond more favorably to Latina applicants in job-related attributes (H3a) and suggested salary (H3b) than they will to African American applicants.

Rater Gender

In the previous studies, I examined SDO as a within group factor, which contributed to participant appraisals of minority job applicants. I extend this work in Study 3 by also considering the influence of rater gender. Sport is a highly gendered space, where much of the leadership is male and traditional traits of masculinity are the cultural norm (Ely & Padavic, 2007). That being said, as expressions of racial identity have different connotations (e.g., persons with strong identities are considered different to majority and more masculine, while those with a weak identity are perceived to be similar to the majority and more feminine) it may be fruitful to see how this comes into play in the sport context (see Johnson, Freeman, & Pauker, 2012; Goff, Thomas, & Jackson, 2008; Zebrowitz, Bronstad, & Lee, 2007; Zebrowitz, Fellous, Mignault, & Andreoletti, 2003).

Whereas a more masculine or strongly identified female may seem negative in the larger context in the sport context, raters might consider these inferred traits positively in the male dominated sport world. Conversely, Claringbould and Knoppers (2007) found that males in leadership usually preferred to advance a certain type of woman (i.e., well educated, single, no young children, and not overtly feminist). Thus, strength that is afforded strongly identified females may be the perceived as a negative

trait even in the highly masculinized world of sport as male leaders may see their strength as a potential threat to the current power structure. Hence, I hypothesized:

> **Hypothesis 4**: Male participants will favor weakly identified applicants in job-related attributes (H4a) and suggested salary (H4b) and women will prefer strongly identified applicants.

Summary

In this study, I predict African American and Latina applicants who are weakly identified with their race will be rated more favorably (H1a); weakly identified applicants will be awarded a higher salary than strongly identified applicants (H1b); pro-diversity hiring directives will have a positive impact on job-related attributions (H2a) and salary offers (H2b); Latina applicants will be evaluated more favorably than their African American counterparts in terms of work attributions (H3a) and salary offer (H3b); and men and women will appraise applicants differently in terms of work attributions (H4a) and salary offers (H4a). Garnering a better understanding of factors that influence the evaluations of minority applicants is crucial in improving the number of racial minorities in positions of power within organizations.

Method

Participants

Utilizing Mechanical Turk (MTurk), an online participant database powered by Amazon, data were collected from 337 participants within the United States who self-identified as having experience working in the fitness industry (e.g., trainer, front desk,

owner, manager, and nutritionist). I cleaned the data by removing responses from participants who did not consent or did not correctly identify the applicant race or directive from the data analysis (Rahm & Do, 2000). I also removed the responses of participants whose total time for survey completion was less than a minute, as it is unlikely that one would be able to thoughtfully complete the survey in this time. Finally, I only analyzed data from White males (n = 133) and females (n = 104), as they traditionally hold the majority role in hiring practices and on search committees and are most likely to express prejudice toward racial minorities (see also Study 1 and Study 2). The average age was 33.68 years (SD = 9.12). Further, the average experience in the fitness industry was 4.92 years (SD = 4.32).

Procedures

I made a Human Intelligence Task (HIT) available to the participants on MTurk. The recruitment materials expressed that participants must have experience working in the fitness industry and were given a link to a survey concerning hiring practices in the fitness industry. It was necessary to include the following disclaimer explaining the possible risk associated with using MTurk: "DISCLAIMER: Any work performed on MTurk can be linked to the user's public profile page. Thus, workers may wish to restrict what information they choose to share in their public profile. (see Amazon.com warning to workers: https://www.mturk.com/mturk/contact). MTurk worker IDs will only be collected for the purposes of distributing compensation and will not be associated with you survey responses. Further, your MTurk worker ID number will not be shared." However, in an effort to keep participant confidentiality and remove the link

between the M-Turk ID and participant responses, the link to the external questionnaire were not be connected to their M-Turk account. This way their responses were not tied to their MTurk account.

Participants engaged in a 2 (applicant racial identity: low, high) x 2 (race: African American, Latina) x 2 (inclusive practices: pro-diversity, diversity neutral) x 2 (participant gender) experimental study in which they were informed that their input is needed to better understand the hiring practices in fitness clubs. On their online MTurk account, participants received notification of a HIT they may complete that will compensate them $1 if they choose to participate. Upon accepting the HIT, participants read the recruitment material/consent information that included a link a Qualtrics questionnaire. Similar to Study 2, participants were instructed to evaluate the dossier of a job applicant. However, the position was for a manager at a fitness club. The dossier included a picture of the job applicant, information about her education and experience, as well as her affiliations (to signal either high or low racial identity). For example, an applicant high in racial identity had affiliations that included her race (e.g. Latino Fitness Instructors Association, Black Fitness Trainers & Administrators Association) and liberal political leanings (chair for local Obama or Julian Castro campaign). Applicants with low racial identity aligned with organizations that are race neutral (e.g. Coaches and Administrators Association, Fitness Instructors Association) and more conservative political agenda (chair of local Cruz or Carson campaign). Further, I included a directive or prompt from the organization stating their values as pro-diversity or diversity-neutral. The pro-diversity directive stated “The diversity of our staff is

among the most important assets of our company. We need to hire people from diverse backgrounds and with varied perspectives, all of whom can help Elite Fitness Center." Conversely, the diversity-neutral directive stated "People are among the most important assets of our company. We need to hire the best people who can help Elite Fitness Center."

After reviewing the applicant materials and organizational values, participants completed a questionnaire. Upon completion, participants received a unique randomly generated "completion code" which they input into MTurk to receive their compensation of $1 (USD).

Measures

Some MTurk participants take part in thousands of research related surveys and may utilize programs to automatically complete surveys. To decrease the chances of this, two "check points" were included in the questionnaire. At these points, participants were required to carefully read and select the prompted correct answer or they could not continue to the next question. As in Study 2, the online post-experiment questionnaire contained embedded manipulation checks (applicant race, racial identity, and diversity directive), as well as items to job-related attributions (expert, experienced, skilled, honest, knowledgeable, capable; $\alpha = .95$) and participant demographic information. Responses were measured using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7(strong agree). Further, an exploratory open-ended question was also included to gauge possible impact of these factors on salary. Participants were given the average salary as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2016), $44,000, for this

type of position and asked what they believed the applicant should receive if hired. Participants were also asked to provide information about their work experience in the fitness industry.

Results

Manipulation Check

The manipulation for racial identity was confirmed with both African American and Latino applicants highly identified with their race scoring significantly higher ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 1.26$) and those with low identity conditions ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.26$), $F(1, 236) = 42.82$, $p < .001$. The hiring directive manipulation was also identifiable by the participants, as indicated by participant responses. Participants in the neutral hiring condition rated the neutrality question higher ($M = 5.93$, $SD = .97$) than did persons in the pro-diversity directive condition ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 1.41$), $F(1, 235) = 18.35$, $p < .001$. Similarly, participants in the pro-diversity directive condition rated the diversity question higher ($M = 5.93$, $SD = 1.19$) than did persons in the neutral hiring directive ($M = 4.26$, $SD = 1.61$), $F(1, 236) = 81.87$ $p <. 001$. Collectively, these data show the manipulations were successful.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypotheses were tested using a 2 (applicant racial identity: low, high) x 2 (race: African American, Latino) x 2 (inclusive practices: pro-diversity, diversity neutral) x 2 (rater gender) MANOVA, with work attributions and suggested salary serving as the dependent variables. The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 4.

With Hypotheses 1a and 1b, I predicted that weakly identified job applicants would receive more positive job ratings and a higher salary offer than would strongly identified applicants. The multivariate effect for applicant racial identity was not significant, $F (2, 235) = 2.78$, $p = .11$; thus, the two hypotheses were not supported.

With Hypotheses 2a and 2b, I predicted that people who were told of the organization's pro-diversity hiring directives would evaluate the applicants more positively and offer a higher starting salary than when such prompts were not offered. The multivariate effects were not significant, so the hypotheses were not supported, $F (2, 235) = .83$, $p = .44$.

Hypotheses 3a and 3b, which stated that Latina applicants would be afforded more positive attributes than female African American applicants in regard to job-related attributions (3a) and salary offer (3b) was not supported, $F (2, 235) = .1.1$, $p = .34$.
With Hypotheses 4a and 4b, I predicted that men would rate the applicants more harshly than would women. The multivariate effects for rater gender were significant: $F (2, 235) = 5.81$, $p = .00$. Univariate analyses showed significant effects for work attributions, $F (1, 236) = 11.22$, $p = .001$, $\eta p2 = .05$, but not for suggested salary, $F (1, 236) = .69$, $p = .41$. Women rated the applicants higher ($M = 6.40$, $SD = .86$) than did men ($M = 5.95$, $SD = 1.11$). Thus, Hypothesis 4a was supported, but Hypothesis 4b was not.

Interactive Effects

While not specifically hypothesized, I did observe marginally significant interactive effects relevant to the hypotheses. Specifically, the applicant race-by-applicant identity-by-rater gender multivariate effect was significant, $F (2, 235) = 2.42$, p

< .09 and given the lack of statistical power in interpreting three-way interactions, I interpret the results even though the p-value is greater than the traditional cutoff of .05 (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, and Lang, 2009).

Similarly, Fanelli (2010) found issues of statistical power in interactions common in behavior research, yet this phenomenon does not indicate a lack of rigor. There were significant effects for work attributions, $F(1, 236) = 4.09$, $p = .04$, $\eta p2 = .02$ and the interactive effect is depicted in Figure 4. Among men, weakly identified job applicants were not rated differently, but strongly identified Latinas ($M = 5.55$, $SD = 1.20$) were rated more poorly than were strongly identified Black applicants ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 1.03$). Among women, an opposite pattern emerged. Ratings of strongly identified applicants did not vary, but weakly identified Latinas ($M = 6.26$, $SD = .99$) were rated more poorly than were weakly identified Black applicants ($M = 6.59$, $SD = .1.06$) (see Figure 5 and Table 5).

I also observed marginally significant effects for salary, $F(1, 236) = 2.75$, $p = .1$, $\eta p2 = .01$, For women, there were no interaction effects, as strongly identified Latinas and Blacks were recommended to receive less salary than their weakly identified counterparts. For men, the suggested salary for Black applicants did not vary based on the perceived racial identity, but they suggested strongly identified Latinas receive less salary ($M = 42,147.06$, $SD = \$8,951.49$) than their weakly identified Latina counterparts ($M = \$46,530.30$, $SD = \$5,950.24$). This is a $4,383.24 difference in annual salary. In fact, the recommended salary for strongly identified Latinas was less than the national average which is depicted in Figure 6.

Discussion

This study was conducted to better understand how race (African American, Latina) and racial identity (Strong, Weak) of female job applicants impacted job-related attributions and starting salaries for a position in the fitness industry. Although in this study hiring directives (pro-diversity, diversity neutral) did not affect rater perceptions of these applicants, other factors proved to be impactful. In line with the previous studies, cues of racial identity impacted how applicants were evaluated. Specifically, there was a three-way interaction between applicant racial identity, applicant race, and rater gender, influencing work attributions and suggested starting salary. These findings support and extend prejudice-distribution theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), as they confirm prejudice against African American and Latinos may be attributed to expressions of racial identity as well as the differing effect these expressions have on males and female raters.

The role of applicant racial identity is important to note in this study. This study revealed that strongly identified Latina applicants had the lowest job-related attribution scores. Ortiz and Telles (2012) found that strongly identified, highly educated Mexican employees experienced more racial backlash and mistreatment than weakly identified Mexicans. Ortiz and Telles (2012) used phenotype expressions of racial identity (skin color – darker skin is more highly identified) in their study. Feagin and Sikes (1994) had similar findings for African Americans who were educated as increased education led to more exposure to fewer minorities and increased experiences of prejudice. Ortiz and Telles's (2012) work highlights that racial identity may impact Latina applicants once

they interview or have the job, but the current study shows that expressions of racial identity in a cover letter or resume material may prove to limit access and perhaps their starting salary. Understanding how appraisals are affected by applicant racial identity is interesting, but delving into how this may affect applicants in a more tangible way is critical as well.

The interaction between applicant racial identity, race, and rater gender also affected salary offers, particularly affecting strongly identified Latinas when men were the raters. Claringbould and Knoppers (2007) suggest that men in authority prefer a certain type, competent but non-threatening, of woman to put in positions of authority. Thus, it would lead one to suspect that any highly identified applicant (traditionally seen as most different from White cultural normative) would be negatively appraised. However, in the male dominated field of sport, the assumed dominant presence that is afforded highly identified female applicants may be seen as a benefit. The racial identity of Black female applicant had little impact on male raters. However, expressions of racial identity had a strong effect on the suggested salary of strongly identified Latina applicants by male raters. Strongly identified Latina applicants received a lower suggested salary of just $42,147 from male raters, compared to the strongly identified African American applicant ($46,482), weakly identified Latina ($46,530) and weakly identified African American ($46,068) applicants. A $4000 difference is meaningful, and over 25 years, assuming a 3 percent annual increase, amounts to over a $150,000 difference.

What are the underlying factor which impact the treatment of highly identified Latina and Black applicants? Drawing from prejudice-distribution theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), the answer may fall in the amount of perceived cultural difference. While highly identified Blacks may be viewed with a critical eye, much of Black culture has intertwined with popular culture (Neal, 2013). In this way, Black culture and highly identified Blackness is more salient in the American experience. In contrast, much of Latino culture is not yet pervasive throughout the culture. Thus, to a White male participant the strongly identified Latina may be perceived as being more of a distinct "other" and potential threat to organizational and cultural norms.

Conversely, female participants showed a negative bias toward weakly identified job applicants. Evolutionary-based management literature may explain why these findings. This perspective draws from Darwinism and the maintenance of one's self through competition when attracting an ideal mate, into the work context (Colarelli, 2003; Hughes, & Hertel, 1990; Nicholson, 1998). For example, an employee may highlight their best qualities and seek to downplay those they view as threatening their status in the hierarchy (Ilies, Arvey, & Bouchard, 2006). Buunk, Aan't, and Castro Solano (2010) found that men value and are most threatened by social dominance and women by physical attractiveness, leading to jealously in the work force. Vaillancort (2013) described the actions one takes to maintain status within one's gender as "intrasexual competition". For women, this may include indirect aggressive behavior which highlights self and passively devalues (i.e., isolates, give negative appraisals, speak ill of) women they find more attractive/threatening with the ultimate goal to

gain/sustain social status and appeal to males/mates/those in authority (Dellesega, 2005; Fisher & Cox, 2009; Tartaglia & Rollero, 2015; Vaillancort, 2013).

Oftentimes aspects of phenotype and racial identity are confounded, as lighter skin tones individuals are presumed to be less identified with their race and more attractive than darker skinned minorities (Blair, Judd, Sadler, & Jenkins, 2002; Durr & Hill, 2006; Maddox, 2004; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Thus, a weakly identified applicant may be seen as more attractive and more threatening to female participants and reviewers. This phenomenon may explain the lower appraisals of weakly identified minorities by female participants.

As much of the evolutionary-based management literature is based on heterosexual mating and coupling practices, it would be interesting to see how or if non-heterosexuals differ in biases. For example, would a lesbian employee view an attractive heterosexual woman as a threat? Would this differ based on the gender and sexual orientation of those in power? Future research may explore if or how sexual orientation of White female evaluators impact their perceptions of minority applicants of varying racial identity in regard to attractiveness, threat, and job-related attributes.

Previous research noted that those in authority preferred Latina workers to African American workers, as they believed them to more compliant and less likely to question any abuse (Moss & Tilly, 1996; Pager, Western, & Bonikowski, 2009; Young & Castaneda, 2008; Zamudio & Lichter, 2008). Thus, employers or raters may expect Latina workers to be non-threatening and compliant. The implied expectations of a strongly identified Latina applicant may violate the schema of a Latina worker. In this

way, a Latina strongly identified to her race is most different from White males culturally but most different from their expectations of a Latina employee.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY*

Summary

There have been positive gains for minorities and women in the workforce (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Patil, 2008). While improvements have been made in the sport context, these groups are still disproportionality represented in authoritative positions within most organizations (see Burton, 2015; Lapchick, Fox, Guiao, & Simpson, 2015). The benefits of a diverse workforce are numerous (increased productivity, innovation, and problem solving skills) and may lead to better work outcomes (Cameron, Bright, & Caza, 2004; Cunningham, 2009; Cunningham, 2011c; Stevens et al., 2008; Fink, Pastore, & Riemer. 2003; Hennessey & Amabile, 1998; Gruenfeld et al., 1996; Phillips et al., 2004). Further, the fair treatment of minorities should be of value to organizations as it not only shows good will can potentially improve several aspects of employee well-being (see Findler, Wind, & Mor Barack, 2005; Shore, Randel, Chung, Dean, Ehrhart, & Signh, 2011). Hence, finding ways to ensure minorities are able to increase diversity within sport organizations is crucial.

Previous studies about the lack of minorities in the sport context focuses on minority members as a monolithic group. Much of this research also neglected to

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consider the individual difference of applicant reviewers and White majority that holds much of the hiring power. Richeson and Sommers (2016) calls for a more critical view of how researchers should view and study issues of race. In their summary of race relations in the twenty-first century, they highlight the new face of diversity research, which includes social psychological aspect of perceptions of race and race relations and its implications for minorities.

The studies in this dissertation compliment Richeson and Sommers (2016) ideals of race and race relations studies as they examine minorities not at a monolithic group (racial identity) and rater/reviewer biases (SDO). In drawing from prejudice-attribution theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009), the purpose of this research project was to examine the role of perceived racial identity on the evaluation of African American and Latina job applicants. In doing so, I considered personnel decisions within college athletics and fitness industry, the influence of four moderators (gender of the job applicant, applicant race, social dominance orientation of the rater, and gender of the rater), and the role of one mediator (attributions). This work offers an interesting pattern that, when combined with other research in the area, begins to paint a picture of how Whites respond to racial minorities in sport who they believe strongly identify with their race. In the following discussion, I offer an overview of the contributions, acknowledge study limitations, and suggest areas for future research.

Contributions

Results from the three experimental studies show that Whites are attuned to various cues and use them to develop perceptions of African Americans and Latina

racial identity. Job applicants involved in Racial Minority-related organizations, such as the Black Coaches and Administrators, were considered to be strongly identified. Note that perceptions were not formed as a result of conversations with the target, nor from psychological information provided by the target (such as in Cunningham & Regan's, 2012, work). Given these findings, I submit that Whites seek out information to form inferences of racial minorities' racial identity.

Roberts (2005) defined professional image as "the aggregate of key constituents' (i.e., clients, bosses, superiors, subordinates and colleagues) perceptions of one's competence and character" (p. 687). Higgins (1996) notes that a part of ones work identity is assessing the expectations of peers and those in authoritative positions and changing accordingly, this practice is known as crafting ones' professional image. Thus, minority applicants may wish to limit race or racial identity identifiers in their resume or cover letter that may trigger White evaluators, maintaining an ideal professional image or identity. Wherein crafting one's application material or identity in a way that is appealing may help minorities in entering the workforce, the long term effects of suppressing ones' identity can be quite harmful both mentally (e.g., depression, anxiety) and physically (e.g., hypertension, obesity; see Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2004; Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008). Due to the possible negative implications that arise from incongruence with true self and professional image, ideally minority applicants would not have to hide their identity, but simply find an organizational culture that supported differences for the best personal and work outcomes (Polzer, Milton, & Swann, 2002). However, there are limited positions and resources in the workforce. Thus, minority job

applicants hired into a non-inclusive organization should engage in mindful self-care. Cross and Strauss (1998) found that minorities mitigate some effects of racism through communicative coping skills and connecting with other minority group members. Thus, these coping strategies may provide to help minority workers in a hostile or non-accepting work setting.

In addition, these studies offer several theoretical extensions. First, when coupled with the research from Cunningham and Regan (2012), results from these investigations suggest the effects of racial identity are likely to vary based on context. In some situations, Whites represent the norm among leaders (Rosette et al., 2008), and people are generally expected to accept the status quo and historically-driven norms. College athletics represents one such traditional, conservative context (Fink et al., 2003). In this case, raters are likely to prefer weakly identified racial minorities (see Study 1 and Study 3)—people are thought to endorse (or at least not challenge) status-legitimizing worldviews. This relationship is likely to be particularly robust among raters who have a high social dominance orientation (see Study 2).

This stands in contrast to the other study set in the sport context, whereby Cunningham and Regan (2012) argued that when evaluating athletics, Whites might expect racial minorities to strongly identify with their race. I recognize that when compared to African American athletes from the Civil Rights era, today's athletes are less likely to hold or express a strong racial identity (Powell, 2008). Nevertheless, it is still possible that consumers perceive African American athletes as being strongly identified, and expect them to maintain that identity more so than they do for sport

administrators. If this is the case, then a strong racial identity will actually be rewarded, not penalized, among African American athlete endorsers.

Second, identification of key process variables offers another extension of prejudice distribution theory (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). The influence of racial identity is likely to be influenced by various factors, such as rater social dominance orientation and the attributions made of the target. On the other hand, results from Study 1 suggest the gender of the target is less salient to raters than is the target's race. Thus, this research provides important information related to when and under what conditions effects are likely to take place—key elements of theory building (Bacharach, 1989; Colquitt & Zepata-Phalen, 2007).

Third, in examining the impact of racial identity on minority women in fitness industry, I have extended a new line of research. At present, I did not identify any research regarding Latina or Black women in managerial roles in the fitness industry. Further, past studies focused on the impact of pro-diversity initiatives on minorities as a monolith. By exploring the interaction between racial identity and hiring directives we better understand the impact of directives on differences within minority groups. Study 3 also proves interesting as it found expressions of strong racial identity had a more of a deleterious impact for Latinas than Black applicants, especially when men were the raters. Moving beyond the appraisals, Study 3 exposed the impact of expressions of applicant race and racial identity on recommended salary, which may prove to have long term implications for job applicants.

The relationship between applicant race, racial identity, and participant/reviewer gender also illuminates that gender may play a role in determining how different expressions of race and identity are received. This finding is especially interesting as it exposes how applicant racial identity and race interact with participant/evaluator gender. Finally, the research also has implications for practice. From a personnel selection standpoint, it is clear that (a) raters used cues from the dossier to form perceptions of the applicant's racial identity, (b) racial identity should not be used as a factor influencing who is or is not selected for a position, and (c) organizations can instill practices, pro-diversity messaging, to improve the fairness of their hiring practices. Study 3 also highlights the implications for the differential appraisals of minorities and how it may impact minority salaries. As such, raters should be trained such that they are aware of the potential biases and are educated on steps to reduce them. Standardizing the search process, including multiple raters, gender diversity among committee members and educating search committees about the value of having a diverse workforce are all potential strategies (see also Raymond, 2013).

Limitations

While the research makes several contributions to theory and practice, there are also potential limitations. First, in Study 1 and Study 2 college students comprised the sample, and some might question how well their views are representative of other, older adults. There are several reasons, though, why such concerns are likely unfounded. Social psychologists have long relied on college student samples to examine the nature of prejudice, and field-based work mirrors that in the laboratory setting (Paluck &

Green, 2009). In addition, personnel decisions among college students mirror those of practicing human resource managers (Jawahar & Mattsson, 2005). Second, MTurk, which was utilized in Study 3, is a relatively new and cost effective way for researchers to quickly acquire participants. Some concerns about MTurk are that the workers or participants may falsify information so they may participate or quickly fill out surveys without reviewing material to receive the compensation. Yet another concern is that many MTurk participants take part in thousands of research related surveys. Thus, they may be more attuned to manipulations than your typical participant. In Study 3, I tried to decrease the chances of these issues taking place by adding "check points" into to the questionnaire. At these points participants would have to carefully read and select the correct option or they could not continue to the next question. The use of a unique completion code provided at the end of the survey also helped to decrease the abuse of the MTurk system. Further, the growing number of MTurk workers as research participants has led many researchers to study the effectiveness of this participant pool. Burhmester, Kwang, and Gosling (2011) had concerns about the quality of MTurk workers. Specifically, if research derived from MTurk was comparable to more traditional methods. In their study they found that not only were MTurk workers more racially diverse but provided similar results to traditional-samples. Huff and Tingley (2015) purported similar findings in their research about MTurk in political science research. They found MTurk to be a powerful tool in creating participant pools. MTurk workers have been found to be effective research participants across several research contexts.

It is also important to note that while differences were found between groups in regard to salary, it is not necessarily true that in the real world these differences would impact initial hiring salary since there is often room for negotiation and outside factors that impact starting salary.

Future Directions

Finally, I highlight several avenues for future research. First, this research suggests that context moderates the influence of racial identity. Future research is needed to further explore these possibilities, including the identification of other contextual boundaries. In addition, I focused on African Americans in 2 experiments and Latinas in 1, but future research is needed to further explore if and how Whites express bias toward other racial minorities who they believe strongly identify with their race. Finally, I see avenues for other areas, too, as prejudice distribution theory could potentially be expanded to focus on other diversity dimensions, such as religion, sexual orientation, and the like. For instance, do Christians evaluate strongly identified Muslims more negatively than their weakly identified counterparts? Would these evaluations differ based on context, as I have observed with race? Given the prevalence of prejudice and discrimination in sport, these are questions worth exploring.

Study 3 focused on African American and Latina Women, with unexpected results regarding the preference towards African American women for hiring recommendation. These results may have come as a surprise as much of previous research only focuses on differential treatment of minority women in entry level or service industry positions. Future research should delve deeper in exploring how

applicant race and racial identity impacts minority group members in managerial positions in varying organizations. Study 3 also highlighted the interaction between applicant race, racial identity and participant gender in predicting salary and job related attributes. Future research should seek to better understand why the difference in evaluations exist and create ways to decrease these biases. It may also be fruitful to conduct research with male applicants of different races and expressions of racial identity to better understand the relationship between race, racial identity, and hiring practices.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1. Effects of Applicant Racial Identity, Applicant Gender and Participant Gender on Person-Job Fit Ratings (Steward & Cunningham, 2015)

Racial Identity	Applicant Gender	Participant Gender	*Mean*	*SD*	*N*
Low racial identity	Woman	Woman	6.14	.81	12
		Man	5.84	.92	15
		Total	5.98	.87	27
	Man	Woman	6.03	1.24	11
		Man	5.60	.76	14
		Total	5.79	1.00	25
	Total	Woman	6.09	1.02	23
		Man	5.72	.85	29
		Total	5.88	.93	52
High racial identity	Woman	Woman	5.57	1.37	10
		Man	4.87	1.29	13
		Total	5.17	1.34	23
	Man	Woman	5.63	.75	9
		Man	5.31	1.28	17
		Total	5.42	1.12	26
	Total	Woman	5.60	1.09	19
		Man	5.12	1.29	30
		Total	5.30	1.22	49
Total	Woman	Woman	5.89	1.11	22
		Man	5.39	1.20	28
		Total	5.61	1.17	51
	Man	Woman	5.85	1.05	20
		Man	5.44	1.07	31
		Total	5.60	1.07	51
	Total	Woman	5.87	1.07	42
		Man	5.42	1.12	59
		Total	5.60	1.18	101

Notes. Applicant gender coded as 0 = man, 1 = woman. Participant gender coded as 0 = man, 1 = woman. Applicant racial identity coded as 0 = low racial identity, 1 = high racial identity. *$p < .05$. **$p < .001$.

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations (Steward & Cunningham, 2015)

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Applicant gender	---					
2. Participant gender	-.10	---				
3. Applicant racial identity	-.08	-.01	---			
4. Social dominance orientation	-.04	-.13	-.11	---		
5. Attributions	.18	-.11	-.03	-.22*	---	
6. Person-job fit	.10	.05	-.11	-.20*	.33**	---
M (%)	.46	.46	.55	2.68	5.40	5.86
SD	---	---	---	1.06	1.27	5.86

Notes. Applicant gender coded as 0 = man, 1 = woman. Participant gender coded as 0 = man, 1 = woman. Applicant racial identity coded as 0 = low racial identity, 1 = high racial identity. *$p < .05$. **$p < .001$.

Table 3. Results of Moderated Mediation Analysis (Steward & Cunningham, 2015)

	Mediator Variable (Attributions) Model		
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*t*
Constant	5.49	.25	22.04***
Applicant gender	.46	.24	1.92†
Participant gender	-.34	.24	-1.41
Applicant racial identity (ARI)	-.16	.24	-.68
Social dominance orientation (SDO)	-.51	.17	-3.02**
ARI × SDO	.43	.24	1.79†
	Dependent Variable (Person-Job Fit) Model		
Predictor	*B*	*SE*	*T*
Constant	4.66	.38	12.01***
Applicant gender	-.01	.16	-.01
Participant gender	.13	.16	.85
Applicant racial identity (ARI)	-.14	.16	-.92
Social dominance orientation (SDO)	.04	.11	.37
ARI × SDO	-.30	.16	-1.89†
Attributions	.23	.06	3.51***
	Conditional Effects at SDO = -1 *SD*, *mean*, and +1 *SD*		
	Indirect Effect	*SE*	*z*
Low SDO	-.12	.09	-1.39
Mean SDO	-.02	.06	-.39
High SDO	.08	.08	.92

Notes. Applicant gender coded as 0 = man, 1 = woman. Participant gender coded as 0 = man, 1 = woman. Applicant racial identity coded as 0 = low racial identity, 1 = high racial identity. †$p < .10$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Table 4. Results of 2 (Applicant Racial Identity: Low, High) x 2 (Race: African American, Latino) x 2 (Inclusive Practices: Pro-Diversity, Diversity Neutral) x 2 (Rater Gender) MANOVA

Descriptive Statistics

	App_Hiring	App_Race	App_Identity	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Job Attributes	Neutral Directive	Black	Weak Racial Identity	male	6.0118	.84991	17
				fem.	6.4615	.65516	13
				Total	6.2067	.79217	30
			Strong Racial Identity	male	5.9600	1.18128	15
				fem.	6.4667	.84853	18
				Total	6.2364	1.02890	33
			Total	male	5.9875	1.00185	32
				fem.	6.4645	.76138	31
				Total	6.2222	.91659	63
		Latina	Weak Racial Identity	male	6.1600	.86915	15
				fem.	6.3077	.61436	13
				Total	6.2286	.75172	28
			Strong Racial Identity	male	5.8105	.91766	19
				fem.	6.5000	.61412	8
				Total	6.0148	.88739	27
			Total	male	5.9647	.90047	34
				fem.	6.3810	.60632	21
				Total	6.1236	.82056	55
		Total	Weak Racial Identity	male	6.0813	.84831	32
				fem.	6.3846	.62718	26
				Total	6.2172	.76620	58
			Strong Racial Identity	male	5.8765	1.02811	34
				fem.	6.4769	.77165	26
				Total	6.1367	.96620	60
			Total	male	5.9758	.94365	66
				fem.	6.4308	.69777	52
				Total	6.1763	.87087	118

Table 4. Continued

Descriptive Statistics

	App_Hiring	App_Race	App_Identity	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Diversity Directive	Black	Weak Racial Identity		male	6.0000	1.42902	20
				fem.	6.7455	.42039	11
				Total	6.2645	1.21807	31
		Strong Racial Identity		male	6.2286	.85524	14
				fem.	6.1429	1.30190	14
				Total	6.1857	1.08174	28
		Total		male	6.0941	1.21529	34
				fem.	6.4080	1.04160	25
				Total	6.2271	1.14618	59
	Latina	Weak Racial Identity		male	6.0889	1.01801	18
				fem.	6.2375	1.23767	16
				Total	6.1588	1.11168	34
		Strong Racial Identity		male	5.3067	1.47332	15
				fem.	6.3273	.50018	11
				Total	5.7385	1.25700	26
		Total		male	5.7333	1.28712	33
				fem.	6.2741	.99096	27
				Total	5.9767	1.18527	60
	Total	Weak Racial Identity		male	6.0421	1.23565	38
				fem.	6.4444	1.00817	27
				Total	6.2092	1.15565	65
		Strong Racial Identity		male	5.7517	1.28247	29
				fem.	6.2240	1.01541	25
				Total	5.9704	1.17996	54
		Total		male	5.9164	1.25488	67
				fem.	6.3385	1.00784	52
				Total	6.1008	1.16790	119

Table 4. Continued

Descriptive Statistics

App_Hiring	App_Race	App_Identity	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
	Black	Weak Racial Identity	male	6.0054	1.18273	37
			fem.	6.5917	.56716	24
			Total	6.2361	1.02275	61
		Strong Racial Identity	male	6.0897	1.02760	29
			fem.	6.3250	1.06408	32
			Total	6.2131	1.04490	61
		Total	male	6.0424	1.10969	66
			fem.	6.4393	.88906	56
			Total	6.2246	1.02967	122
	Latina	Weak Racial Identity	male	6.1212	.93933	33
			fem.	6.2690	.99179	29
			Total	6.1903	.95912	62
		Strong Racial Identity	male	5.5882	1.20196	34
			fem.	6.4000	.54160	19
			Total	5.8792	1.08297	53
		Total	male	5.8507	1.10555	67
			fem.	6.3208	.83817	48
			Total	6.0470	1.02541	115
	Total	Weak Racial Identity	male	6.0600	1.06885	70
			fem.	6.4151	.83560	53
			Total	6.2130	.98738	123
		Strong Racial Identity	male	5.8190	1.14425	63
			fem.	6.3529	.89941	51
			Total	6.0579	1.07117	114
		Total	male	5.9459	1.10758	133
			fem.	6.3846	.86381	104
			Total	6.1384	1.02928	237
	Black	Weak Racial Identity	male	47238.24	6969.297	17
			fem.	47538.46	4557.327	13
			Total	47368.33	5951.043	30
		Strong Racial Identity	male	45066.67	4382.867	15
			fem.	46388.89	5169.354	18
			Total	45787.88	4800.765	33
		Total	male	46220.31	5912.396	32
			fem.	46870.97	4876.761	31
			Total	46540.48	5393.842	63

Table 4. Continued

Descriptive Statistics

	App_Hiring	App_Race	App_Identity	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Salary	Neutral Directive	Latina	Weak Racial Identity	male	47600.00	4484.895	15
				fem.	46461.54	4427.478	13
				Total	47071.43	4413.184	28
			Strong Racial Identity	male	43736.84	7708.885	19
				fem.	45250.00	6318.906	8
				Total	44185.19	7237.919	27
			Total	male	45441.18	6688.711	34
				fem.	46000.00	5108.816	21
				Total	45654.55	6089.512	55
		Total	Weak Racial Identity	male	47407.81	5846.920	32
				fem.	47000.00	4436.215	26
				Total	47225.00	5221.693	58
			Strong Racial Identity	male	44323.53	6404.168	34
				fem.	46038.46	5444.122	26
				Total	45066.67	6019.366	60
			Total	male	45818.94	6288.009	66
				fem.	46519.23	4940.788	52
				Total	46127.54	5720.919	118
		Black	Weak Racial Identity	male	45075.00	6177.793	20
				fem.	45818.18	2713.602	11
				Total	45338.71	5172.664	31
			Strong Racial Identity	male	48000.00	5320.497	14
				fem.	44250.00	5898.989	14
				Total	46125.00	5833.532	28
			Total	male	46279.41	5938.053	34
				fem.	44940.00	4748.509	25
				Total	45711.86	5462.413	59

Table 4. Continued

Descriptive Statistics

App_Hiring	App_Race	App_Identity	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
	Latina	Weak Racial Identity	male	45638.89	6944.752	18
			fem.	46562.50	4966.135	16
			Total	46073.53	6022.851	34
		Strong Racial Identity	male	40133.33	10232.069	15
			fem.	45545.45	2339.386	11
			Total	42423.08	8261.589	26
		Total	male	43136.36	8898.097	33
			fem.	46148.15	4073.401	27
			Total	44491.67	7248.315	60
	Total	Weak Racial Identity	male	45342.11	6468.327	38
			fem.	46259.26	4147.220	27
			Total	45723.08	5602.058	65
		Strong Racial Identity	male	43931.03	9027.462	29
			fem.	44820.00	4643.275	25
			Total	44342.59	7281.292	54
		Total	male	44731.34	7650.177	67
			fem.	45567.31	4409.247	52
			Total	45096.64	6427.324	119
	Black	Weak Racial Identity	male	46068.92	6551.668	37
			fem.	46750.00	3847.642	24
			Total	46336.89	5616.241	61
		Strong Racial Identity	male	46482.76	4997.290	29
			fem.	45453.13	5514.438	32
			Total	45942.62	5256.820	61
		Total	male	46250.76	5879.956	66
			fem.	46008.93	4873.389	56
			Total	46139.75	5420.591	122

Table 4. Continued

Descriptive Statistics

App_Hiring	App_Race	App_Identity	Sex	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
Total	Latina	Weak Racial Identity	male	46530.30	5950.236	33
			fem.	46517.24	4649.276	29
			Total	46524.19	5338.100	62
		Strong Racial Identity	male	42147.06	8951.493	34
			fem.	45421.05	4311.687	19
			Total	43320.75	7732.980	53
		Total	male	44305.97	7880.718	67
			fem.	46083.33	4504.529	48
			Total	45047.83	6715.384	115
	Total	Weak Racial Identity	male	46286.43	6234.499	70
			fem.	46622.64	4266.265	53
			Total	46431.30	5456.101	123
		Strong Racial Identity	male	44142.86	7659.818	63
			fem.	45441.18	5054.352	51
			Total	44723.68	6626.940	114
		Total	male	45271.05	7002.181	133
			fem.	46043.27	4684.259	104
			Total	45609.92	6094.902	237

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics, 3 Way Interaction (Applicant Racial Identity: Low, High) x 2 (Race: African American, Latino) x 2 (Inclusive Practices: Pro-Diversity, Diversity Neutral) x 2 (Rater Gender) MANOVA

*Sex * App_Race * App_Identity*

Dependent Variable	Sex	App_Race	App_Identity	Mean	Std. Error	95% C.I. L.B.
Job Attributes	male	Black	Weak Racial Identity	6.006	.167	5.676
			Strong Racial Identity	6.094	.188	5.723
		Latina	Weak Racial Identity	6.124	.177	5.775
			Strong Racial Identity	5.559	.175	5.214
	fem.	Black	Weak Racial Identity	6.603	.208	6.194
			Strong Racial Identity	6.305	.181	5.949
		Latina	Weak Racial Identity	6.273	.189	5.900
			Strong Racial Identity	6.414	.235	5.950

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

Figure 1. Effects of Applicant Identity and Social Dominance Orientation on Attributions (Steward & Cunningham, 2015)

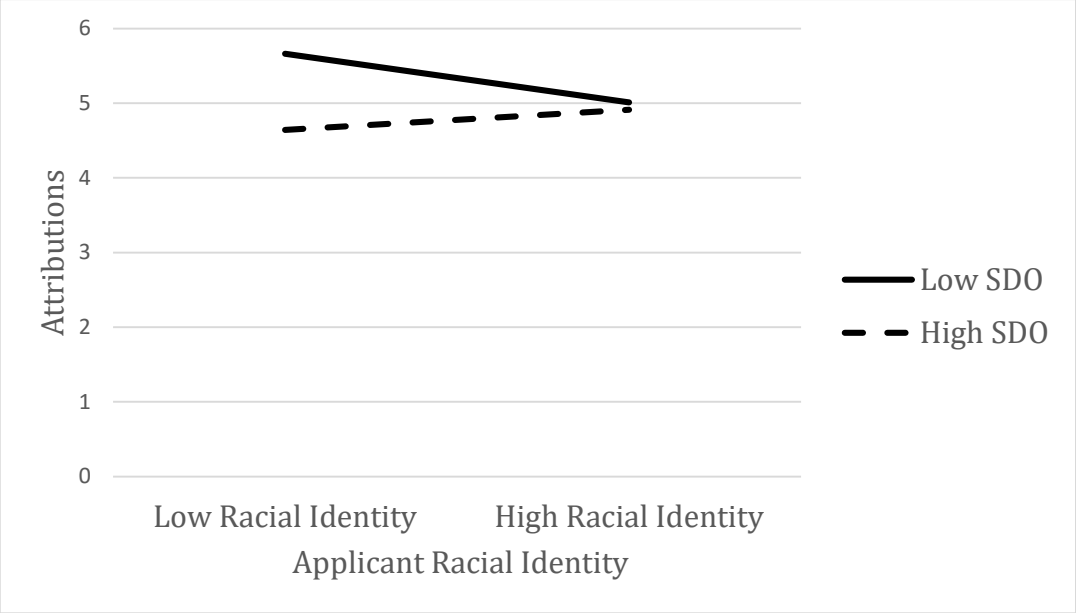

Figure 2. Effects of Applicant Identity and Social Dominance Orientation on Person-Job Fit Ratings (Steward & Cunningham, 2015)

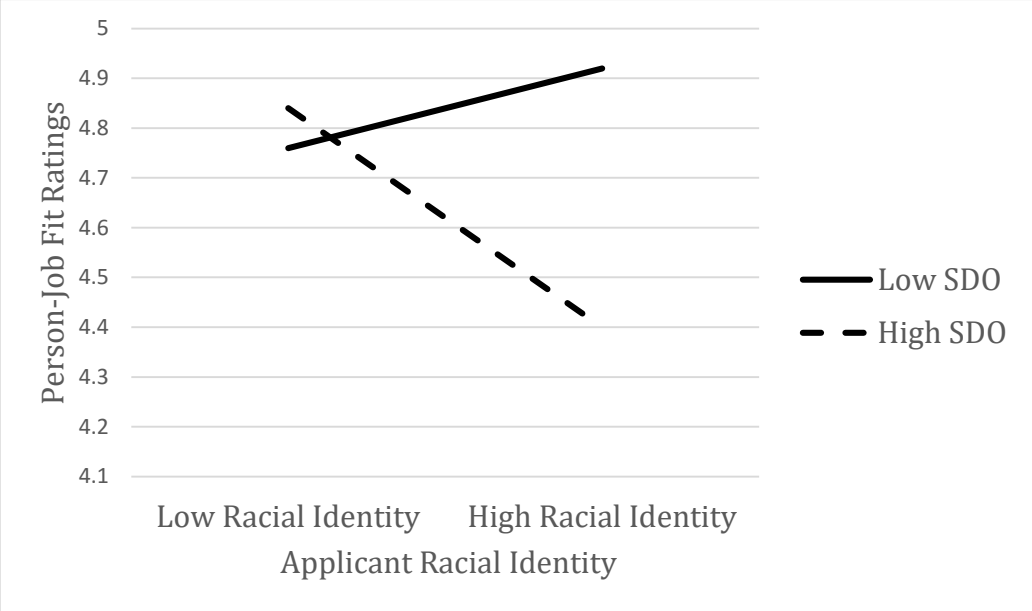

Figure 3. Effects of Applicant Identity, Race, and Participant Gender (Males), on Job-Related Attributes

Figure 4. Effects of Applicant Identity, Race, and Participant Gender (Females), on Job-Related Attributes

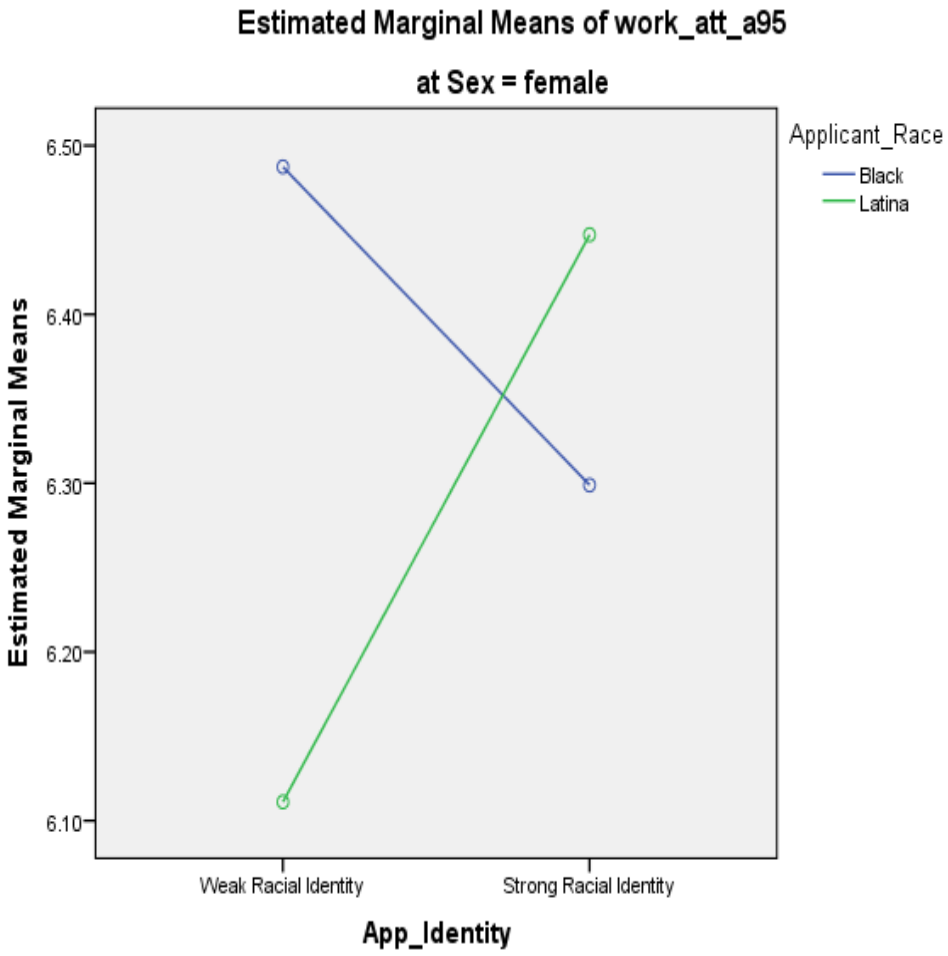

Figure 5. Effects of Applicant Identity, Race, and Participant Gender (Males), on Salary

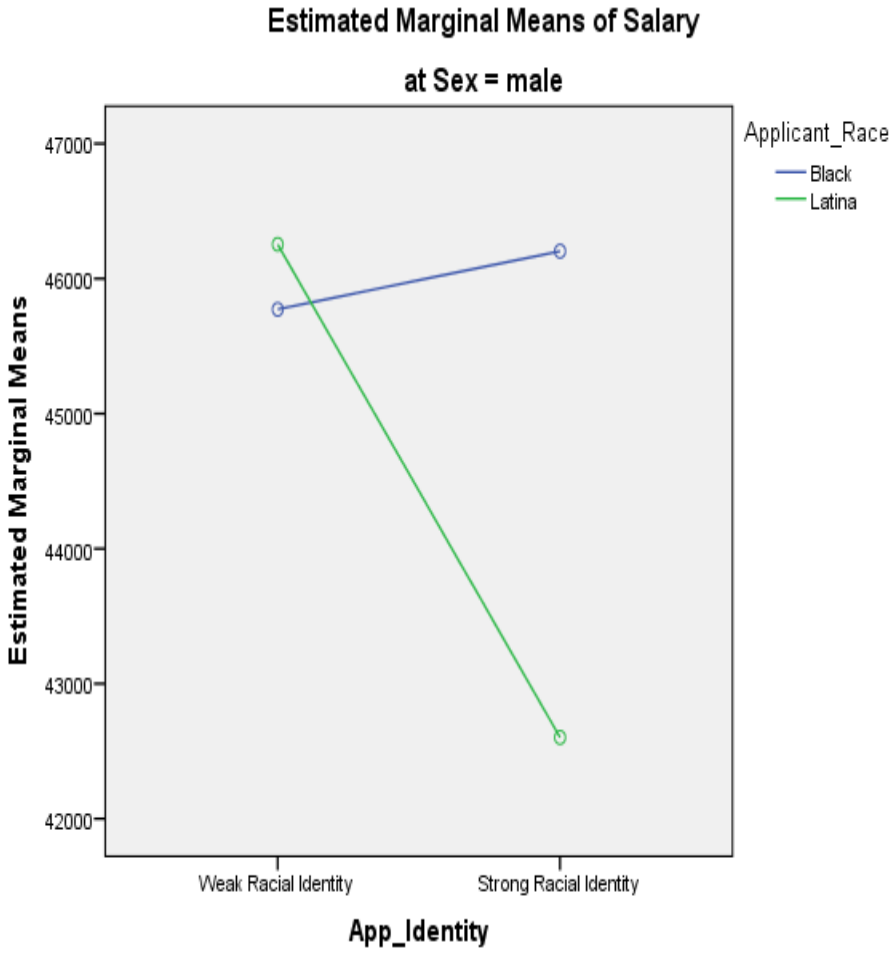

Figure 6. Effects of Applicant Identity, Race, and Participant Gender (Females), on Salary